







REFERENCE LIBRARY \* HOUGHTON MIFFLIN CO. \* BOSTON, MASS.

*Archive  
Collection*



This book may not leave the Offices  
and if borrowed must be returned within 7 days





THE NATIONS OF TO-DAY  
*A New History of the World*  
EDITED BY JOHN BUCHAN

IRELAND

**THE NATIONS  
OF TO-DAY**

*A New History of the World*

EDITED BY

**JOHN BUCHAN**

FIRST LIST OF VOLUMES

**GREAT BRITAIN** (Two  
Volumes)

**FRANCE**

**JAPAN**

**ITALY**

**INDIA**

**BELGIUM AND LUXEM-  
BOURG**

**BRITISH AMERICA**

**YUGOSLAVIA**

**THE BALTIC AND CAU-  
CASIAN STATES**

**IRELAND**

**BULGARIA AND RO-  
MANIA**

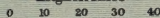
*Other Volumes in Preparation*





IN THE XII<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY  
prior to the  
Anglo-Norman Occupation.

English Miles



THE NATIONS OF TO-DAY  
*A New History of the World*

# IRELAND

BY THE  
REV. R. H. MURRAY  
AND  
HUGH LAW

BOSTON AND NEW YORK  
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY

*Made and Printed in Great Britain.*  
*Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ltd., London and Aylesbury.*  
1924



## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THIS series has been undertaken to provide for the ordinary citizen a popular account of the history of his own and other nations, a chronicle of those movements of the past of which the effect is not yet exhausted, and which are still potent for the peace and comfort of the present. The writers conceive history as a living thing of the most urgent consequence to the men of to-day; they regard the world around us as an organic growth dependent upon a long historic ancestry. The modern view of history—apart from the pedantry of certain specialists—is a large view, subordinating the mere vicissitudes of dynasties and parliaments to those more fateful events which are the true milestones of civilisation. Clio has become an active goddess and her eyes range far. History is, of course, like all sciences, the quest for a particular kind of truth, but that word “truth” has been given a generous interpretation. The older type of historian was apt to interest himself chiefly in the doings of kings and statesmen, the campaigns of generals and the contests of parties. These no doubt are important, but they are not the whole, and to insist upon them to the exclusion of all else is to make the past an unfeathered wilderness, where the only personalities are generals on horseback, judges in ermine and monarchs in purple. Nowadays, whatever we may lack in art, we have gained in science. The plain man has come to his own, and, as Lord Acton has put it, “The true historian must now take his meals in the kitchen.”

The War brought the meaning of history home to the world. Events which befell long ago suddenly became disruptive forces to shatter a man's ease, and he realised that what had seemed only a phrase in the textbooks might be a thing to die for. The Armistice left an infinity of problems, no one of which could be settled without tracing its roots into the past. Both time and space seemed to have “closed up.” Whether we like it or not, our isolation is shattered, and not the remotest nation can now draw in its skirts from its neighbours. The consequence must be that even those who are averse to science, and prefer to settle everything by rule of thumb, will be forced

to reconsider their views. Foreign politics have become again, as they were in the age of Pitt and Castlereagh, of Palmerston and Disraeli, urgent matters for every electorate. The average citizen recognises that the popular neglect of the subject contributed in no small degree to the War, and that problems in foreign affairs are as vital to him as questions of tariff and income tax. Once it used to be believed that a country might be rich while its neighbours were poor; now even the dullest is aware that economically the whole world is tightly bound together, and that the poverty of a part lessens the prosperity of the whole. A merchant finds his profits shrinking because of the rate of exchange in a land which was his chief market; he finds his necessary raw material costly and scarce because of the dislocation of industry in some far-away country. He recognises that no nation is commercially sufficient to itself, and he finds himself crippled, not by the success, but by the failure of his foreign colleagues. It is the same in other matters than commerce. Peace is every man's chief interest, but a partial peace is impossible. The world is so closely linked that one recalcitrant unit may penalise all the others.

In these circumstances it is inevitable that interest in foreign countries, often an unwilling and angry interest, should be compulsory for large classes which up to now have scarcely given the matter a thought. An understanding of foreign conditions—though at first it may not be a very sympathetic understanding—is forced upon us by the needs of our daily life. This understanding, if it is to be of the slightest value, must be based upon some knowledge of history, and Clio will be compelled to descend from the schools to the market-place. Of all the movements of the day none is more hopeful than the spread through all classes of a real, though often incoherent, desire for education. Partly it is a fruit of the War. Men realise that battles were not won by muddling through; that as long as we muddled we stuck fast, and that when we won it was because we used our brains to better purpose than our opponents. Partly it is the consequence of the long movement towards self-conscious citizenship, which some call democracy. Most thinking people to-day believe that knowledge spread in the widest commonalty is the only cure for many ills. They believe that education in the most real sense does not stop with school or college; indeed, that true education may only begin when the orthodox curriculum is finished. They believe, further, that this fuller training comes by a man's own efforts and is not necessarily dependent

upon certain advantages in his early years. Finally, they are assured that true education cannot be merely technical or professional instruction; that it must deal in the larger sense with what are called the "humanities." If this diagnosis is correct, then the study of history must play a major part in the equipment of the citizen of the future.

I propose in these few pages to suggest certain reasons why the cultivation of the historical sense is of special value at this moment. The utilitarian arguments are obvious enough, but I would add to them certain considerations of another kind.

Man, as we know, is long-descended, and so are human society and the State. That society is a complex thing, the result of a slow organic growth and no mere artificial machine. In a living thing such as the State growth must be continuous, like the growth of a plant. Every gardener knows that in the tending of plants you cannot make violent changes, that you cannot transplant a well-grown tree at your pleasure from a wooded valley to the bare summit of a hill, that you cannot teach rhododendrons to love lime, or grow plants which need sun and dry soil in a shady bog. A new machine-made thing is simple, but the organic is always subtle and complex. Now, half the mischiefs in politics come from a foolish simplification. Take two familiar conceptions, the "political man" and the "economic man." Those who regard the citizen purely as a political animal, divorce him from all other aspects, moral and spiritual, in framing their theory of the State. In the same way the "economic man" is isolated from all other relations, and, if he is allowed to escape from the cage of economic science into political theory, will work havoc in that delicate sphere. Both are false conceptions, if our problem is to find out the best way to make actual human beings live together in happiness and prosperity. Neither, as a matter of fact, ever existed or could exist, and any polity based upon either would have the harshness and rigidity and weakness of a machine.

We have seen two creeds grow up rooted in these abstractions, and the error of both lies in the fact that they are utterly unhistorical, that they have been framed without any sense of the continuity of history. In what we call Prussianism a citizen was regarded as a cog in a vast machine called the State, to which he surrendered his liberty of judgment and his standard of morals. He had no rights against it and no personality distinct from it. The machine admitted no ethical principles which might interfere with its success, and the



citizen, whatever his private virtues, was compelled to conform to this inverted anarchy. Moreover, the directors of the machine regarded the world as if it were a smooth, flat high-road. If there were hollows and hills created by time, they must be flattened out to make the progress of the machine smoother and swifter. The past had no meaning ; all problems were considered on the supposition that human nature was like a mathematical quantity, and that solutions could be obtained by an austere mathematical process. The result was tyranny, a highly efficient tyranny, which nevertheless was bound to break its head upon the complexities of human nature. Such was Prussianism, against which we fought for four years, and which for the time is out of fashion. Bolshevism, to use the convenient word, started with exactly the same view. It believed that you could wipe the slate quite clean and write on it what you pleased, that you could build a new world with human beings as if they were little square blocks in a child's box of bricks. Karl Marx, from whom it derived much of its dogma, interpreted history as only the result of economic forces ; he isolated the economic aspect of man from every other aspect and desired to re-create society on a purely economic basis. Bolshevism, though it wandered very far from Marx's doctrine, had a similar point of view. It sought with one sweep of the sponge to blot out all past history, and imagined that it could build its castles of bricks without troubling about foundations. It also was a tyranny, the worse tyranny of the two, perhaps because it was the stupider. It has had its triumphs and its failures, and would now appear to be declining ; but it, or something of the sort, will come again, since it represents the eternal instinct of theorists who disregard history, and who would mechanise and unduly simplify human life.

There will always be much rootless stuff in the world. In almost every age the creed which lies at the back of Bolshevism and Prussianism is preached in some form or other. The revolutionary and the reactionary are alike devotees of the mechanical. The safeguard against experiments which can only end in chaos is the wide diffusion of the historical sense, and the recognition that " counsels to which Time hath not been called, Time will not ratify."

The second reason is that a sense of history is a safeguard against another form of abstraction. Ever since the War the world has indulged in a debauch of theorising, and the consequence has been an orgy of catchwords and formulas, which,

unless they are critically examined, are bound to turn political discussion into a desert. The weakening of the substance of many accepted creeds seems to have disposed men to cling more feverishly to their shibboleths. Take any of our contemporary phrases—"self-determination," "liberty," "the right to work," "the right to maintenance," "the proletariat," "class consciousness," "international solidarity," and so forth. They all have a kind of dim meaning, but as they are currently used they have many very different meanings, and these meanings are often contradictory. I think it was Lord Acton who once said he had counted two hundred definitions of "liberty." Abraham Lincoln's words are worth remembering: "The world has never yet had a good definition of the word 'liberty,' and the American people just now are much in want of one. We are all declaring for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. We assume the word 'liberty' to mean that each worker can do as he pleases with himself and the product of his labour, while, on the other hand, it may mean that some man can do as he pleases with other men and the product of other men's labour." Are we not in the same difficulty to-day? Perhaps the worst sinner in this respect is the word "democracy." As commonly used, it has a dozen quite distinct meanings, when it has any meaning at all, and we are all familiar in political discussions with the circular argument—that such and such a measure is good for the people because it is democratic; and if it be asked why it is democratic, the answer is "Because it is good for the people." "Democratic" really describes that form of government in which the policy of the State is determined and its business conducted by the will of the majority of its citizens, expressed through some regular channel. It is a word which denotes machinery, not purpose. "Popular," often used as an equivalent, means merely that the bulk of the people approve of a particular mode of government. "Liberal," the other assumed equivalent, implies those notions of freedom, toleration and pacific progress which lie at the roots of Western civilisation. The words are clearly not interchangeable. A policy or a government may be popular without being liberal or democratic; there have been highly popular tyrannies; the German policy of 1914 was popular, but it was not liberal, nor was Germany a democracy. America is a democracy, but it is not always liberal; the French Republic has at various times in its history been both liberal and democratic without being popular. Accurately employed, "democratic" describes ■

particular method, "popular" an historical fact, "liberal" a quality and an ideal. The study of history will make us chary about the loud, vague use of formulas. It will make us anxious to see catchwords in their historical relations, and will help us to realise the maleficent effect of phrases which have a fine rhetorical appeal, but very little concrete meaning. If political science is to be anything but a vicious form of casuistry it is very necessary to give its terms an exact interpretation, for their slipshod use will tend to create false oppositions and conceal fundamental agreements, and thereby waste the energy of mankind in empty disputation.

The third reason for the study of history is that it enables a man to take a balanced view of current problems, for a memory stored with historical parallels is the best preventive both against panic and over-confidence. Such a view does not imply the hard-and-fast deduction of so-called laws, which was a habit of many of the historians of the nineteenth century. Exact parallels with the past are hard to find, and nothing is easier than to draw false conclusions. A facile philosophy of history is, as Stubbs once said, "in nine cases out of ten a generalisation founded rather on the ignorance of points in which particulars differ, than in any strong grasp of one in which they agree." Precedents from the past have often been used with disastrous results. In our own Civil War the dubious behaviour of the Israelites on various occasions was made an argument for countless blunders and tyrannies. In the same way the French Revolution has been used as a kind of arsenal for bogus parallels, both by revolutionaries and conservatives, and the most innocent reformers have been identified with Robespierre and St. Just. During the Great War the air was thick with these false precedents. In the Gallipoli Expedition, for example, it was possible to draw an ingenious parallel between that affair and the Athenian Expedition to Syracuse, and much needless depression was the consequence. At the outbreak of the Russian Revolution there were many who saw in it an exact equivalent to the Revolution of 1789 and imagined that the new Russian revolutionary armies would be as invincible as those which repelled the invaders of France. There have been eminent teachers in recent years whose mind has been so obsessed with certain superficial resemblances between the third century of the Christian era and our own times that they have prophesied an impending twilight of civilisation. Those of us who have been engaged in arguing the



case for the League of Nations are confronted by its opponents with a dozen inaccurate parallels from history, and the famous plea of the "thin edge of the wedge" is usually based upon a mistaken use of the same armoury.

A wise man will be chary of drawing dapper parallels and interpreting an historical lesson too rigidly. At the same time there are certain general deductions which are sound and helpful. For example, we all talk too glibly of revolution, and many imagine that, whether they like it or not, a clean cut can be made, and the course of national life turned suddenly and violently in a different direction. But history gives no warrant for such a view. There have been many thousands of revolutions since the world began; nearly all have been the work of minorities, often small minorities; and nearly all, after a shorter or longer period of success, have utterly failed. The French Revolution altered the face of the world, but only when it had ceased to be a revolution and had developed into an absolute monarchy. So with the various outbreaks of 1848. So conspicuously with the Russian Revolution of to-day, which has developed principles the exact opposite of those with which it started. The exception proves the rule, as we see in the case of our own English Revolution of 1688. Properly considered, that was not a revolution, but a reaction. The revolution had been against the personal and unlimited monarchy of the Stuarts. In 1688 there was a return to the normal development of English society, which had been violently broken. It may fairly be said that a revolution to be successful must be a reaction—that is, it must be a return to an organic historical sequence, which for some reason or other has been interrupted.

Parallels are not to be trusted, if it is attempted to elaborate them in detail, but a sober and scientific generalisation may be of high practical value. At the close of the Great War many people indulged in roseate forecasts of a new world—a land fit for heroes to live in, a land inspired with the spirit of the trenches, a land of co-operation and national and international goodwill. Such hasty idealists were curiously blind to the lessons of the past, and had they considered what happened after the Napoleonic wars they might have found a juster perspective. With a curious exactness the history of the three years after Waterloo has repeated itself to-day. There were the same economic troubles—the same rise in the cost of living, with which wages could not keep pace; the same shrinking of foreign exports owing to difficulties of

exchange ; the same cataclysmic descent of agricultural prices from the high levels of the war ; the same hostility to profiteers ; the same revolt against high taxation, and the same impossibility of balancing budgets without it. The Property tax then was the equivalent of our Excess Profits tax, and it is interesting to note that it was abolished in spite of the Government because the commercial community rose against it. There was the same dread of revolution, and the same blunders in the handling of labour, and there was relatively far greater suffering. Yet the land, in spite of countless mistakes, passed through the crisis and emerged into the sunlight of prosperity. In this case historic precedent is not without its warrant for hope.

One charge has been brought against the study of history—that it may kill reforming zeal. This has been well put by Lord Morley: “The study of all the successive stages and beliefs, institutions, laws, forms of art, only too soon grows into a substitute for practical criticism of all these things upon their merits and in themselves. Too exclusive attention to dynamic aspects weakens the energetic duties of the static. The method of history is used merely like any other scientific instrument. There is no more conscience in your comparative history than there is in comparative anatomy. You arrange ideals in classes and series ; but the classified ideal loses its vital spark and halo.” There is justice in the warning, for a man may easily fall into the mood in which he sees everything as a repetition of the past, and the world bound on the iron bed of necessity, and may therefore lose his vitality and zest in the practical work of to-day. It is a danger to be guarded against, but to me it seems a far less urgent menace than its opposite—the tendency to forget the past and to adventure in a raw new world without any chart to guide us. History gives us a kind of chart, and we dare not surrender even a small rushlight in the darkness. The hasty reformer who does not remember the past will find himself condemned to repeat it.

There is little to sympathise with in the type of mind which is always inculcating a lack-lustre moderation, and which has attained to such a pitch of abstraction that it finds nothing worth doing and prefers to stagnate in ironic contemplation. Nor is there more to be said for the temper which is always halving differences in a problem and trying to find a middle course. The middle course, mechanically defined, may be the wrong course. The business of a man steering up a difficult estuary is to keep to the deep-water channel, and that channel

may at one hour take him near the left shore and at another hour close to the right shore. The path of false moderation sticks to the exact middle of the channel, and will almost certainly land the pilot on a sandbank. These are the vices that spring from a narrow study of history and the remedy is a broader and juster interpretation. At one season it may be necessary to be a violent innovator, and at another to be a conservative ; but the point is that a clear objective must be there, and some chart of the course to steer by. History does not provide a perfect chart, but it gives us something better than guess-work. It is a bridle on crude haste ; but it is not less a spur for timidity and false moderation. Above all it is a guide and a comforter to sane idealism. " The true Past departs not," Carlyle wrote, " nothing that was worthy in the Past departs ; no Truth or Goodness realised by man ever dies, or can die ; but all is still here, and, recognised or not, lives and works through endless change."

JOHN BUCHAN.



## NOTE

THE earlier portion of this history was entrusted to the late Mr. T. W. Rolleston, formerly Editor of the *Dublin University Review*, etc.; owing however to his lamented death before he had written many pages, the Rev. R. H. Murray, Litt.D., M.R.I.A., took up the work and is responsible for the present history up to the end of Chapter XIII.

The remainder of the volume has been written by Mr. Hugh Law, ex-M.P. (Nationalist) and late member of the Congested Districts Board.

The issue has been supervised by Major-General Lord Edward Gleichen.

# CONTENTS

	PAGE
GENERAL INTRODUCTION . . . . .	V
NOTE . . . . .	xiv

## *A—HISTORY*

### CHAPTER

I. THE EARLY PEOPLES . . . . .	3
II. THE CONQUEST . . . . .	13
III. THE BRUCE INVASION AND AFTER . . . . .	22
IV. THE NEW MONARCHY . . . . .	34
V. THE REFORMATION . . . . .	42
VI. THE ULSTER PLANTATION . . . . .	57
VII. THE RULE OF THE PURITAN . . . . .	73
VIII. THE REVOLUTION AND ITS RESULTS . . . . .	85
IX. THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY . . . . .	105
X. FROM REVOLUTIONS TO THE UNION . . . . .	115
XI. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO 1846 . . . . .	135
XII. FROM THE FAMINE TO THE FENIAN MOVEMENT (1846-1867) . . . . .	152
XIII. FROM DISESTABLISHMENT TO LAND PURCHASE (1867-1885) . . . . .	164
XIV. HOME RULE . . . . .	178
XV. THE ALTERNATIVE POLICY . . . . .	193
XVI. HOME RULE ONCE MORE . . . . .	208
XVII. SINN FÉIN . . . . .	224
XVIII. 1916-1922 . . . . .	232
XIX. THE TREATY AND ITS RECEPTION . . . . .	243
XX. THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND THE FUTURE . . . . .	248

*B—ECONOMICS*

	PAGE
IRELAND AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT . . . . .	261

*C—MISCELLANEOUS*

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE . . . . .	275
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	279
INDEX . . . . .	283

## MAPS

IRELAND IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY . . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
IRELAND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY . . . . .	<i>Opp. p. 56</i>
THE PLANTATIONS . . . . .	<i>„ p. 72</i>
IRELAND OF TO-DAY . . . . .	<i>At end</i>



## A—HISTORY



## CHAPTER I

### THE EARLY PEOPLES

FROM the earliest notices of the Celtic<sup>1</sup> peoples, as well as from the evidence of place-names, we find them lying in a broad band, how far northward we cannot say, from the Euxine to the Belgic coast. Like other northern peoples, they felt the passion for the sunshine and the fertility of the South, and they penetrated not merely as raiders but as settlers into Asia Minor, Illyria, Lombardy and Gaul. Light came to the men of Gaul from the East. The Mediterranean cities, Tyre, Carthage, Athens, Rome, Alexandria, were centres of learning, thought and commerce; and from them came much of the early civilisation of Ireland.

Ireland, however, like Britain, Gaul and the West of Europe generally, was far from being an empty wilderness when the first waves of the Celtic migration began to flood it with new life. It was inhabited by a people of whose origin, institutions and language we have no trace except in those great megalithic monuments of which Stonehenge is perhaps the most striking example, and which, under the name of cromlechs, dolmens and vast avenues of standing stones, we find more or less thickly scattered over Spain, France and the British Islands. This people exercised a profound and abiding influence on the character and destinies of the western Celts. The one thing which, from the character of their monuments and the carvings and relics found in connection with them, we can talk of with some certainty is that they were steeped in ideas of magic and religious ceremonial and must have been under the control of a powerful priesthood. They were not exterminated by the Celts; it would, in fact, be truer to say that they have survived them. The language of the Celts prevailed, but in the institution of Druidism it is evident that they were conquered by the mysterious portents and highly organised superstition under whose spell they came when they passed under the shadow of Stonehenge or saw the spiral patterns on the stones

<sup>1</sup> In deference to the authors, the word is here spelt with a "C."—ED.



of their burial-grounds at Nowth and Dowth. Thus they came to represent the third of the three great types of antique polity, of which the first was the Græco-Roman, in which the city or the State was the supreme object of reverence, the second the Teutonic, with its conception of loyalty to a personal leader or dynasty, and the third the Celtic, in which, as Julius Cæsar and other classical writers tell us, the chief personage was the Druid, no secular ruler, but the guardian of an elaborate system of traditional lore, the ultimate judge of all matters, claiming supernatural sanction for his decrees and enforcing them by supernatural terrors.

What the religion of the pagan hosts was really like we would give a great deal to know; it is a mystery from which the veil will never be lifted now. St. Patrick talks of them as sun-worshippers, but tells us practically nothing of the faith which he came to supplant. The ancient bardic literature as we have it now enshrines pagan traditions of great antiquity. It has, however, passed through monkish hands, and though we catch in it frequent glimpses of supernatural beings or races, we cannot reconstruct from it any coherent body of spiritual or even ethical teaching; it has not even a mythological cosmogony such as we find in the Norse or Greek or indeed in almost every other primitive literature. This is no doubt partly due to the fact that the Druids never committed their doctrines to writing; these were handed down orally from generation to generation in sacerdotal colleges, and early Christianity was only too willing to let their memory die. The bardic literature, though it does not give us this particular information, is one of the richest extant in imaginative beauty and lyrical intensity of emotion. It contains much nobility, much tenderness and grace, and a delight in colour, in natural beauty and in dramatic movement in which it is unsurpassed, perhaps unmatched, among the primitive literatures of the world. A comparison with the Norse sagas brings out its failure. For it fails in constructive design and in grasp of character. In the world of ideas it possesses strength, but in the world of fact it possesses weakness.

St. Paul wrote to the "foolish Galatians," who were a Celtic race, that "I marvel that ye are so quickly removing from him that called you in the grace of Christ unto a different gospel." Evidently the Apostle of the Gentiles felt the fickleness of his converts; and this fickleness was a characteristic of our forefathers. They were impetuous and impressionable. They did not possess the stoicism of either the Roman or the

Teuton. The tribes were quarrelsome, scanty in numbers, subsisting on precarious hunting spoils. They could neither live apart nor together. They clung to one another in tribes, while each tribe was in ceaseless commotion. There were personal quarrels within, tribal rivalries without. Had the Romans come to our shores, as they came to those of England, they would assuredly have given us a sense of unity. The hammer of the great Imperial race would have moulded us, and would have obliged us to accept that sense of law and order which it was the mission of Rome to preach to the Western world in general and to England in particular. Rome was the teacher of the sister-isle; the English pupil was fresh, eager to learn. Under Rome the wild anarchy of our chiefs would have been stayed, the elements of law and order would have found time to gain strength, and the grandeur and the greatness of the Empire would have been stamped upon us. But it was not to be. The bridge between barbarism and feudal life was not thus to be built. The consequence was that it was long, too long, in getting its foundation laid: one cannot build soundly on chaos.

Outwardly there seemed to be unity. Were there not 185 tribes with their 185 chieftains? Were there not the five provinces of Ulster, Munster, Connaught, Meath and Leinster? Were there not five kings over these five provinces? Was there not the *Ard-Rí*, the High King of Ireland, over all the provinces and of course therefore over all the chieftains? The truth is that if we add to the number of chieftains the claimants to that title there were far more than 185 of them. The ceaseless tribal jealousies rendered the position of the king of the province one with more semblance of power than with the reality of it. The *Ard-Rí* was a *roi fainéant*, a do-naught king, a royal nonentity. Yet we must not forget that the names and the shadows of things haunt the world long after their substance is gone.

Though Celtic Ireland possesses annals in which the ancestry of mythical kings is traced back to Noah, the country can hardly be said to emerge into clear historical light until the coming of St. Patrick in 432 as a missionary. The soldiers of Rome never came to Ireland, but one of her sons came to be our national saint. His very name, Patricius, testifies to the fact that he was a citizen of the greatest Empire then on earth. His father, Calpurnius, was a clergyman and a decurion or town councillor, and his grandfather, Potitus, was a priest. The place of Patrick's birth is uncertain, though it is probable

that he was born near the Severn or the Bristol Channel in the year A.D. 389. When only a lad of sixteen Irish pirates captured him and sold him as a slave to his master in county Antrim. For six years he tended flocks and herds in the valley of the Braid. "Verily," remarked Mohammed, "there hath no prophet been raised up who performed not the work of a shepherd." It was in his time of solitary brooding in a northern vale that Patrick felt the call of God. "That man," remarked Samuel Johnson, "is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona." Our piety grows warmer as we stand in that secluded northern valley where the lad, to use the old Irish expression, made his soul. We call him a lad, yet we have to bear in mind that a lad of sixteen then was at least as old in mind as a man of twenty-six of our day.

At the age of twenty-two he fled to the south of France, and made his way to the new monastery of Lerins. The East had left its impress on France and on Ireland, and in his new home the young man was to witness the sway of Eastern ideas, not only in theology but also in art. He increased in the knowledge of God and in the wisdom of man, which is only another form of the knowledge of God. As St. Paul sat at the feet of Gamaliel, so he sat at the feet of Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, who consecrated him for his work. As St. Paul saw the vision of the man of Macedonia, calling him to Europe, so St. Patrick saw Victorius, calling him to Ireland. In 432 he obeyed the call, and returned a second time to our land.

Eastern as was the setting of his faith, he proclaimed a very simple creed. It is plain in his *Confessio*, which is filled with the spirit of earnestness and sincerity marking every line of it. "We shall rise," he holds, "on that day in the brightness of the sun, that is, in the glory of Christ our Redeemer, as sons of the living God and joint-heirs with Christ, and conformed to His image that will be, since of Him and through Him and in Him are all things. To Him be glory for ever and ever. Amen. For in Him we shall reign." This was the message he came to bring to the Irish, and it is this message which fitted him to leave a lasting impress on the Irish.

The first place he visited was his spiritual home, the valley of the Braid. But he soon saw that he must attack Tara, the nominal political capital and the real religious capital of Druidism. Accordingly he wended his way to the court of



King Laoghaire. His Druids understood the significance of the visit of the prophet of the new religion, and they employed their spells and incantations to overthrow him. "Let God arise," thundered the saint, "and let His enemies be scattered. Let them also that hate Him flee before Him."

God's enemies were one day to be scattered, but for the moment it was not so. The saint failed to move King Lao-ghaire, but he moved his brother, who became a Christian. It was natural for him to set out on a tour through the province of Meath, of which Tara was the capital. Then he turned his steps to Connaught, a province he visited three times. Many parts of our island bore witness to his activity, but his most permanent work was carried out in his old home in the northern province. In 444 he founded the see of Armagh, making it the ecclesiastical capital of the country. He built churches and cloisters, laying down rules of ecclesiastical discipline. His regulations evidently concerned the problems of his time as they presented themselves to him. The clergy were to be tonsured, and their wives were to veil their heads. His own life is obvious in the provision that Christian captives were to be redeemed from slavery. He was as proud of keeping his word as Edward I himself. A well-read man he certainly was not, and he bitterly felt the defects of his *rusticitas*. He was a man of one book, but that book was the Word of God. When the monk was told that his cell had only one window, he remarked, "True, but it looks up to God." St. Patrick too looked up to God. On March 17, 461, he passed away, and his body was buried in Saul, county Down. His body was indeed buried in peace, but his name liveth for evermore.

The soldier of the Roman Empire never landed here, but the French branch of his Church came with St. Patrick. His life is a record of ceaseless activity and of as ceaseless resistance, yet the activity achieved a triumph over the resistance. Though he was a bishop, he did not breathe the spirit of compromise. To the day of his death he was unconscious of the magnitude of his achievement. He was hampered by the incessant squabbles of the chieftains, their sons, and their descendants, who were sapping the strength of the races in the land. A Dunstan might have settled at least some of them, but our saint could not. The truth is that he was better fitted to look after the things of God than the things of Cæsar.

Neither St. Patrick nor anyone else ever brought Ireland fully into the commonalty of European civilisation. Roman literature was translated and studied, but neither that litera-

ture nor Roman law nor Roman institutions succeeded in exercising any serious influence on the development of the Irish social spirit and the Irish social order. Still less did the Greek do so. Ireland knew no Renaissance, no Reformation, and never came into the general current of European thought and sentiment.

One ordeal our land had to pass through in common with other European lands. It had to adjust the relation of the secular to the ecclesiastical authority, the question upon which so much of mediæval history turns. Here Ireland anticipated by centuries the same crisis as it took shape in England and in the Holy Roman Empire, and the far different solution arrived at may be said to have governed the whole subsequent course of Irish history. The particular form which this inevitable conflict took in Ireland seems to have been the question of sanctuary. The Irish High King, Dermot mac Kervall, is said to have taken a criminal by force from the protection of an Irish ecclesiastic, St. Ruadhan. The Church took the part of Ruadhan and laid its curse upon Tara, the seat of the central Irish monarchy. The outcome was that the great Triennial Assembly, which was the symbol and agent of such political unity as the country possessed, could no longer be held. This event is supposed to have taken place about the year 565. King Dermot strove hard for his rights, and later accounts, perhaps not altogether legendary, have recorded his pathetic protest against the wreck of all law and rational authority which would follow from his defeat. All his efforts were in vain against the invincible obsession of the Celtic mind by the dread of the supernatural agencies wielded by the Christian inheritors of Druidic sanctity. Tara fell, and with it fell all chance of establishing a healthy and progressive polity in Celtic Ireland. Far different were the fortunes of the Irish colonists of Scotland who, under an Ulster chieftain, Fergus mac Ere, entered that country early in the sixth century and, partly by arms, partly by intermarriage with Pictish kings, made themselves masters of the land. In this they were no doubt aided by the Irish missionaries who started from Iona, under St. Columba, in the year 563 and seem to have rapidly evangelised the country. From Fergus descends the whole line of Scots kings, and through the Stewarts the present royal family of England. It is the first example in history of the strange contrasts, so often recorded since, between the high achievements of Irishmen in other countries and the mysterious fatality which forbade them to succeed at home.

The contrast was soon to show itself in another field. In the year 590 St. Columbanus, a scion of a distinguished family of Leinster, inaugurated the long and brilliant succession of Irish missionaries to the Continent whose footsteps can be tracked at Bobbio, Luxeuil, Breuil, St. Gall and Salzburg. The Irish Church had a dispute with the Roman on the right method of computing the date of the Easter festival, with the result that the missionary activities of its members were not always acceptable to the Papacy, and, indeed, up to the conquest in 1170 the Irish Church showed itself by no means amenable to Roman discipline.

After St. Patrick's death the barbarians were hastening the downfall of the Roman Empire. Before their incursions scholars and artists fled for their lives, and some of them sought refuge with us. Among them were the French or the Gauls, who strongly reinforced the eastern element always present in all sides of our learned activities, in our religion and laws, in our art and literature. An anonymous Gaulish writer informs us that during the early years of the fifth century there was a general exodus of scholars from Europe due to the devastation of the Huns. "Owing to their ravages," he writes, "all the learned men on this side the sea fled, and in the countries beyond sea, namely, Ireland, and wherever else they betook themselves, brought to the inhabitants of those regions an enormous advance in learning." The passion of some Irish for learning and for the spread of culture was intense and fruitful. Some of the vast debts we owed the Continent in learning we repaid by the missionaries and learned men we sent to it. In the reign of Charlemagne two of our wandering philosophers, Clemens and Albinus, set up a school in Paris, where, with a just and at that age perhaps unique appreciation of the value of bold and harmonious advertisement, they offered "Wisdom for Sale." Charlemagne placed each of them at the head of a great seminary. Virgilius or Fergil, Bishop of Salzburg, was a scientific thinker who had to answer at Rome for teaching the existence of the antipodes and the rotundity of the earth. Johannes Scotus Erigena—though it is doubtful if he was an Irishman—who studied in Greece and endeavoured to adapt Christianity to a kind of Platonic pantheism, was one of the master-minds of his epoch, and was in fact the precursor of the Scholastic philosophy. Yet all this intellectual effort, this religious fervour, which contributed so powerfully to keep alive the decaying culture and learning of that barbarous age, seems to have reacted little on the country



from which it sprang. We hear of great institutions of learning at Clonard, Clonmacnoise, Glendalough and elsewhere, and of the throngs of foreign students who attended them; but on the intellectual culture of Ireland itself their effect seems to have been almost nil. Inside the schools of learning there was a high degree of civilisation; outside them there was nothing of the kind. For three centuries, the sixth, the seventh and the eighth, Ireland was called the University of Europe, yet at the date of the Anglo-Norman Conquest Irish literature remained at the stage of folk-lore. Irish history was merely annals, Irish politics were tribal. Irish cities, trade and manufacture were the creation of the Norse settlers. Indeed, in whatsoever quarter we look, the spirit of criticism, of large controlling design, of observation, of life and fact, was almost wholly absent. Ireland with all the brilliant gifts of her peoples gave the impression of a country which had never grown up.

The Ireland of those days stands in the relation of shadow to substance, of promise to performance. Scholars produced the force of argument; but what was really wanted was the argument of force. The need was not for scholars, but for statesmen who could compel obedience to the laws supposed to be in force. Instead of the knowledge of Greek, what was required was the knowledge of statesmanship. The Brehon code declared that he was no king who had not hostages. How were hostages to be obtained save by a state of war? Its principles were wholly incompatible with progress towards a unified State. There were kings many and there were chiefs many, but there was no common authority to maintain either law or order. Take the fate of the kings of the sixth century, the golden age of Irish learning. There were twelve of them, and no less than ten fell in battle or were murdered. Nor is the sixth century in this respect in any wise unique. For from 1274 to 1324 there were no less than fourteen Kings of Connaught, and only one died a natural death.

The Church doubtless endeavoured to impose her code on the different tribes, but at once she came into conflict with the native code. Her view of marriage was flouted by the Brehon code, which set out the conditions on which irregular unions were permitted. Her stern attitude to murder was modified by the Brehon code, which declared the way in which the *eric*, the compensation in cattle, could atone for the loss of the dead man. In the new relationships introduced by Christianity the influence of syncretism is speedily at work. The custom of



sponsorship at baptism, a purely spiritual relationship, developed into gossip, by which an artificial relationship was created, and this artificial relationship came to count more in the eyes of the peoples than the relationship by blood. The truth is that the early civilisation of our land was confined to the peaceful monks who lived in their monasteries ; it rested on an essentially ecclesiastical foundation. The Church possessed power, but it was over a very limited class. There was, to quote Talleyrand's words, "*trop de zèle*," but there was too little discipline. The mighty hand of the Roman Empire had clasped England as it were in a vice, and gave her unity. That hand never grasped us, to our lasting loss, and the unity we sorely lacked never became ours.

There was one period between the coming of St. Patrick and the coming of the English when it looked as if something like political consideration and progress might take place. This was in the reign of Brian Boru, a strong usurper of the Dalcassian family of Munster who fought his way to the High Kingship of Ireland in the year 1002, ousting Malachy, a scion of the O'Neills, who was the lawful Ard-Rí. Brian's early life was spent in constant fighting with the Norsemen, who had begun to invade Ireland in the last decade of the eighth century and who had established themselves firmly in the principal seaports of the eastern coast, especially Dublin. From these they made constant forays into the interior, marked by great destruction, especially of the religious houses, but they never succeeded in completely mastering the country. In the early eleventh century, however, they summoned their forces not only from Scandinavia but also from England and the Viking settlements in the west of Europe, to form a Norse kingdom of Ireland under Sigurd, Earl of the Orkneys.

Aided by the Irish chieftains and the men of Leinster who had espoused their cause—for no resistance of a widespread character had ever been made to the invader—the Danes met King Brian in the great battle of Clontarf, near Dublin, on Good Friday, 1014. The conflict was a desperate one and ended in the rout of the Norsemen and their Irish auxiliaries. The dream of a Scandinavian kingdom in Ireland was at an end. But Brian fell in battle, and his army was too enfeebled by its losses to proceed to the capture of Dublin. It is a singular illustration of the condition of Ireland at that time that after this great victory the remnant of Brian's heroic army, marching home to Munster with their wounded, were attacked by the men of Ossory, who refused to accept Brian's son Donough as

their leader, and many of them were slain. The men of Ossory fought for their own clan, and the fate of the whole country was a matter of indifference to them. With the death of Brian Boru ended the last hopes of the Irish monarchy. Ulster, then as always aloof, had stood aside from the fray. Malachy regained his ard-ríship. The annalists note that from the death of Malachy in 1022 to the expulsion of Dermot Mac Murrough in 1166 there was no king acknowledged throughout the length and the breadth of Ireland. Kings there were, but they were kings *co fressabhra* ("with opposition"). From the battle of Clontarf to the coming of the English, the High Kingship and every other authority were contested in one continuous internecine struggle which filled the land with blood and with lawless violence. Such a condition of events was an invitation to conquest, and the Bulls of Adrian IV and of Alexander III, summoning Henry II of England to the reformation of the country, were the not unnatural outcome of it.

Ireland since the coming of St. Patrick had had seven centuries of independence and of contact with European culture. The warmest admirer of Celtic genius cannot but admit that in the sphere of national life and government the Irish had failed to make any effective use of their brilliant gifts and their splendid opportunity.

## CHAPTER II

### THE CONQUEST

DERMOT MAC MURROUGH, King of Leinster and of the Danes, was a typical ruler of the worst period of Irish history. Gerald de Barry describes him as a man of great stature, violent and overbearing, breathing all his life the atmosphere of strife and bloodshed, his voice hoarse from shouting in battle. One of his early exploits was to abduct an abbess from her convent and to give her to be violated by one of his soldiers. He once tore with his teeth the severed head of an enemy. But—in the mediæval sense—he was pious. Was he not a notable founder of churches and monasteries? He was educated in the learning of his time, and he knew how to win the devotion and the fidelity of his people. One of the most valuable of Irish manuscripts, the Book of Leinster, a treasure-house of Irish literature, was compiled for his use, and on the margin of one of its leaves a member of his household wrote the following entry: “Oh Mary! it is a great deed that has been done in Erin on this day, the Kalends of August: Dermot Mac Murrough, King of Leinster and of the Foreigners [i.e. the Danes], to have been banished by the men of Erin over the sea eastwards! Och, och, O Lord! what shall I do?”

Such was the man whose career forms the second great turning-point in Irish history. In the year 1152 he persuaded Devorgil, wife of Tiernan O'Rourke, chief of Breffny, to elope with him during her husband's absence, carrying off the whole of the rich dowry she had brought to Breffny on her marriage. The looseness of the sexual relations of the twelfth century forbids our thinking that this carrying-off of Devorgil was regarded as a grave moral offence. It is quite clear, however, that O'Rourke never forgot or forgave the serious personal insult offered to him. He sought the protection of the High King, Turlough O'Conor, who marched against Dermot and compelled the restoration of the lady and her dowry. Not satisfied with this, O'Rourke and others of Dermot's many enemies, including rebels in his own territory, attacked him

in force in 1166, fourteen years after the elopement, and beat him to the very margin of the sea, whence the Irish problem in the sinister form of this ferocious warrior-king at last took ship for England.

It was not till 1168 that the banished King of Leinster and Henry II met. The latter was then in Aquitaine. His designs upon Ireland had been formed long before, for the Bull of Adrian IV had been issued in 1153. He recognised that the hour had now arrived. He gave Dermot letters authorising him to recruit for an Irish expedition to restore the exile to his throne. Dermot, in his turn, undertook to hold his dominions under Henry II as his feudal suzerain. Dermot, returning to England, found in Richard FitzGilbert, Earl of Pembroke, and nicknamed "Strongbow," the very nobleman to whom the enterprise made a strong appeal. It was arranged that he should wed Eva, the daughter of Dermot, and succeed him as King of Leinster. The Geraldines, an ancient family half Norman, half Welsh, were also enlisted with others of less note in the great adventure.

The blood of the original inhabitants of the country, of the Celts from the Caspian, of the Gauls and the other races which fled before the barbarians, and of the different branches of the Norsemen was now to be mingled with the blood of the Anglo-Normans. St. Patrick connected our divided Church with that of the Roman Empire. The Anglo-Normans connected our divided State with that of the Roman Empire. The Brehon code of law was customary, with no binding force behind it. The English code of law was written, with much force behind it. In the background lay the sheriff and the judge with power to hang the murderer. The Brehon law was in fact merely a system of arbitration with no adequate machinery to compel litigants to abide by the award of the *brehon* or judge. It trusted to public opinion to make the loser obey the decision. On the other hand, the English imprisoned the defaulter or, if he committed murder, hanged him. The Irish in the twelfth century still allowed the murderer to atone for his crime by a fine in cattle. The *eric* had once been useful, but it had begun to outlive its usefulness. There was also a conflict between the two systems of law in land tenure. The Irish theory had been that as all the members of the tribe were kinsmen, the land belonged to all. By the custom of *gavelkind* it was supposed to be gavelled or divided equally among all the tribesmen, but this custom was passing away. The Norman notion was that the chief owned the land as his property, and that



notion was the one common in Europe. For good and for evil it was this feudal system for which Henry II emphatically stood.

The Normans came with their mailed horsemen, but it is clear that their ideas were of as serious import as their archers. In 1169 a force of thirty knights, sixty mailed horsemen, and three hundred archers landed at Bannow Bay on the south coast of Wexford about May 1, under the command of Robert FitzStephen.

After suffering a serious check under the walls of Wexford the town was yielded to them on the persuasion of the clergy, who probably recognised in the expedition an agency of Roman ecclesiastical dominion, and the invaders gained their first slender foothold on Irish soil.

It is easy to understand the attitude of the clergy when we read the letter St. Malachy wrote to Bernard of Clairvaux, describing the condition of Connor in 1139. "It was not to men," Malachy pointed out, "but to beasts he had been sent; in all the barbarism which he had yet encountered, he had never met such a people, so profligate in their morals, so uncouth in their ceremonies, so impious in their faith, so barbarous in their laws, so rebellious in their discipline, so filthy in their life, Christians in name but pagans in reality. They neither paid first-fruits nor tithes, nor contracted marriages legitimately nor made their confessions."

Such a letter explains many matters, and it also explains the success of the Normans. After the capture of Wexford further fighting followed, in which the tumultuous levies of the Irish clansmen were defeated with ridiculous ease by the handful of mail-clad and disciplined Normans. With their help Dermot mastered the whole seaboard up to and including Dublin. On the eve of St. Bartholomew's Day, 1170, Strongbow arrived near Waterford with two hundred knights and a thousand lancers and archers. He came with a substantial force and with the definite idea of reducing the whole of Ireland to submission. Waterford was first attacked and carried, and the carnage which followed—for the Normans fought with ruthless cruelty—was scarcely over when the marriage of Eva and Strongbow was celebrated in the captured city. Dublin, which had revolted under the Danish prince Haskulf, was next subdued, but here occurred the first critical situation in the history of the conquest. Rory O'Connor, the Ard-Rí "with opposition," showed some belated activity, and in the end a vast host was gathered together who beleaguered Dublin from

the land while a fleet of thirty Danish ships cut off all communication from the sea. The siege had lasted two months, reducing the garrison to great straits, when Strongbow resolved on a desperate sortie as the only alternative to surrender. Marching straight on Rory's camp at Castleknock, the little band of Normans found the Irish totally heedless and unprepared. The King himself was bathing in the Liffey, and fled half-naked; his force was routed with ease; the panic spread, and before nightfall the whole enormous army had dissolved, and the clansmen were making their way as best they could to their respective homes in the interior. It was not till centuries after this event that the conquest of Ireland was effectively completed, but the English tenure of at least the eastern coast and the sally-ports of the land was never again in danger.

In October of the same year (1171) a fleet of four hundred English vessels sailed up the estuary of the river Suir, and landed at Crook, near Waterford, an army of four thousand men-at-arms, including five hundred knights, with the King of England at their head. At Waterford Henry II received the first Irish prince who paid homage to the English crown. It was Dermot Mac Carthy, King of Desmond, who came of his own accord to take the oath of fealty, to do homage, to give hostages, and to pay tribute for his kingdom. Unopposed, Henry marched into the interior and at Cashel received the homage of Donnell O'Brien, King of Thomond, and of other princes of the south. He then took up his quarters in Dublin, where the remainder of the Irish princes soon appeared to tender their allegiance and be confirmed in their territories, mostly under English governors or feudal lords and according to English feudal law.

The High King, Rory O'Connor, who had now withdrawn to Connaught, did not appear in person, but made his submission to two of the king's barons on the banks of the Shannon. Ulster alone held aloof. Henry II spent Christmas in Dublin royally entertaining the Irish princes, whom he treated with high consideration, evidently intending that they should learn to regard the royal power as their defence against lawless attacks or exactions by the Norman nobles or by their own. But the king departed, the barons remained. They had been created overlords of great territories, de Courcy of Ulster, de Lacy—who married a daughter of King Rory—of Meath, the Geraldines of Kildare and Munster, the de Burghs (afterwards Burkes) of Connaught, the Butlers of Kilkenny. They

had before them the task of winning submission to their authority from Irish chieftains, the proudest of men, to whom the very idea of subordination was so hateful that for centuries their feuds and their forays had filled Ireland with rapine and bloodshed. After the one struggle of the High King Rory, which was defeated at the siege of Dublin, no widespread effort was made to resist the invaders for nearly a hundred and fifty years, and in fact from the beginning considerable Irish forces made common cause with the newcomers as they had formerly done with the Norsemen.

The Angevins showed a respect for the reign of law, and Henry II was characteristically Angevin. As the tribes of imperial Rome enjoyed the Pax Romana, so the Irish tribes enjoyed the Pax Normannica. Peace did not come in a day, but peace came and with it came also organised rule. So much is this the case that the eastern part of the country, where the Normans enforced order, was known as "the land of peace," whereas the western part, where the brehons did not enforce order, was known as "the land of war." There was not only peace in the eastern half, but there was also goodwill between the men of the English and the Irish races. The foundations of this peace and goodwill were securely laid in the law-courts which Henry II carefully established. He constituted Courts Baron in the country districts, Hundred Courts in the towns, and County Courts over which his sheriffs presided. Nor did these courts exist merely on paper. So early as 1194 there was an appeal lodged with the County Court of Dublin.

Henry II was fortunate in securing such statesmen as John de Courcy, Hugh de Lacy and William Marshall as governors of the country. But he was quite determined that even these men should not be able to hold feudal courts of their own. His judges must be over the lords' judges; his courts must be over the lords' courts. Such was his ideal, and his ideal soon became a fact—at least in the eastern half of the country. His judges did indeed try every vassal in this half. His Justiciar issued writs which were to run wherever the Pax Normannica reigned. His judges went their circuits in order to see justice done in the different counties. The policy of the father was the policy of the son, for John on his visit to Ireland in 1210 utterly refused to permit any court but his own to outlaw men. So eager was Henry II to enforce right that his Justiciar, from the days of Hamon de Valoignes the first one, held courts in different parts of the land. Besides, there are



references to the Justices Itinerant in 1207 and 1218. Work grew so much that Judges of Assize were appointed at the close of the thirteenth century in order to supplement the efforts of the Justices Itinerant.

The task of developing respect for law was inevitably a slow one. Both Henry II and John had at first allowed the lords to hold courts in Leinster, Meath and Ulster, though even these courts were of the nature of palatine courts. "It is unheard of," held John, despite the protests of the Barons of Leinster and Munster, "that a new assize should be established in the land of another without the consent of the prince of the land." This consent the prince emphatically declined to give. Naturally in the days of the Conquest litigation for land was common. Alberic de Curtun felt aggrieved when the Justiciar, Hugh de Lacy, withheld the possession of land from him, and he sued him for its recovery. It was a bold step for a subject to take, but it is evident that this subject held that the courts existed for his protection and that the chief judge of the country was as much under them as he himself. The extension of the rule of law is also plain in the jealousy with which Henry II and his son John regarded all attempts of the ecclesiastical or the baronial courts to extend their jurisdiction. As might be expected from the man who stoutly opposed Thomas Becket, Henry II refused to permit ecclesiastical courts to claim jurisdiction over presentation to livings and freehold land belonging to the laity. The English Justinian, Edward I, in 1300 sharply confined the claims of the Archbishop of Tuam, William Bermingham. He ordered his Justices in Eyre to inquire into the nature of the courts held by the bishops and barons in order to ensure that "nothing accrue to them by usurpation or encroachment." In 1300 two of the servants of Theobald de Verdon stole a precious stone from him, and he promptly imprisoned them. The Justiciar, Sir John Wogan, held that Verdon had exceeded his powers and inflicted a heavy fine upon him.

For purposes of his contest with the Stewarts of his time, that able lawyer Sir Edward Coke invented his version of the Magna Carta. To him it was the palladium of liberty; to our ancestors it was the palladium of liberties. There is a world between the two conceptions. Take one clause, that which insists that a man ought to be tried by his peers. In spite of Sir Edward Coke, this meant that noblemen ought to be tried by noblemen, and citizens by citizens. Magna Carta, from this standpoint, is a piece of class legislation. In 1215 there



was no Common Law, that is no law common to all classes. Inevitably the same position existed in Ireland. There was Norman law in the eastern half and there was Brehon in the western half. The latter allowed the crime of murder to be atoned by a fine of cattle, the *eric*. If an Irishman killed an Englishman, his law simply required him to hand over so many cattle; he was not hanged. The Irish deemed that their law was for them, and the Normans deemed that their law was also for them. By degrees the latter extended their law to the Irish, but in the thirteenth century they thought it no felony to kill an Irishman. There was no need to put the murderer to death. In point of fact no Norman could take action in his courts against an Irishman. On the other hand, the Irish artisan could sue his employer in a Norman court, and as a matter of fact he recovered damages from him.

The thirteenth century is the most wonderful time of all the Mediæval Ages, and is every whit as wonderful in Ireland as in the rest of Europe. The Normans built their *motes* or earthworks, from twenty to forty feet high and thirty to a hundred feet broad. On the flat top of the mote they erected their tower of wood, which in time they replaced by stone. Nestling under these castles, prosperous towns began to appear, dotting the eastern half of the land. So much was this the case that in the reign of Edward I we find that the Normans controlled three-quarters of the whole country. From the days of the Conquest to the invasion of Bruce in 1315 there was increasing progress towards law and order. The thirteenth century was a century of growing peace and of growing prosperity. Among the rights of the Irish Kings of Munster were the right to raid "the cattle of Cruachan at the singing of the cuckoo" and the right "to burn North Leighlin." The Norman lords possessed no such rights, and they found that the law-courts interfered not only with their right to raid but even with their right to hold a feudal court which their vassals must attend. The king's law bestowed security on the breeder of cattle and the tiller of the soil. The lords were anxious to keep the natives on their lands. How else could they cultivate them?

The Norsemen had created the towns of Dublin and Waterford, of Cork and Limerick. The Angevin kings granted charters to them, and these charters allowed trade to expand. Towns like Drogheda and Athlone, Dungarvan and Louth, also acquired importance. Under the fostering care of the lord of the castle the village was on the way to becoming a

town. Of course there were more English in the towns than Irish, just as there were more Irish in the country than English. Irishmen were occasionally made burgesses of the town in which they resided. For purposes of exchange they had employed their chief form of wealth, cattle, but the Normans introduced generally the use of coined money. During the thirteenth century the wool trade was quite small. The export trade consisted chiefly of grain, victuals, timber, leather and cloth.

The fact of the thirteenth century was the fiction of the fourteenth, for the prosperity of the one was gradually replaced by the poverty of the other. There had been kings like Henry II and Edward I, but there had also been kings like Edward II and Edward III. The Angevins, to the days of John, were at least as much French kings as English. They were unable to stay in Ireland for any considerable length of time. How could the tiller of the ground care for a sovereign he never saw? True, there was a reign of law, but what he wanted was the reign of a man. Norman nobles arrived, but, like their Royal master, they had possessions in France or England. Ireland shared some of their thoughts, not all of their thoughts. They came in enough numbers to control one-half of the island, but they did not come in enough numbers to control the whole of it. The result was that two systems of law, the English and the Irish, existed in one land, and such a condition of affairs was not permanently possible. *Divide et impera* is no doubt a sound policy in the case of men; it is a most unsound policy in the case of measures. So the English and the Irish were to find to their cost.

During the greater part of the thirteenth century the invaders remained united, for they were well aware of the advantages of union. Familiarity with the people induced them to relax the compactness of the body to which they belonged. There were intermarriages between the Irish and the English, which induced the latter to view with more favour some of the manners and customs of the former. John FitzThomas of Desmond, for example, married a daughter of O'Connor of Kerry, and from this marriage sprang the families of the White Knight, the Knight of Glyn and the Knight of Kerry.

In their contests with the English the Irish learnt to be wary. They knew right well what the mailed knight and the strong archer could achieve. They could not compete with the hauberk and the bow. Therefore they avoided attacks in the open, where the enemy possessed the advantage. They retired to their native woods, where the knight could not

follow them. Fabian strategy and tactics were for the future to be the order of the day, and this proved a potent means in defeating the English desire to render their conquest complete.

Strabo holds that "the Romans, having carried war into Spain, lost much time by reason of the number of different sovereignties, having to conquer first one and then another; in fact it occupied two centuries or even longer before they had subdued the whole." This holds good of the Normans in Ireland. When the Moors conquered Spain in their turn, they divided it into half a dozen little Moslem States, and the Spaniards spent four centuries in subduing them, the Spaniards themselves being divided up into half a dozen kingdoms. This also holds good of the Normans in Ireland. To this day a Spaniard may be an Aragonese or an Andalusian, just as an Irishman may be an Ulsterman or a Munsterman.

## CHAPTER III

### THE BRUCE INVASION AND AFTER

IN the turmoil of the fourteenth century the Pax Normannica disappeared. For a hundred and sixty years the Normans bestowed tranquillity on our land. There were signs at the end of the thirteenth century that their power was weakening. The foundations of their castles were shaking, but they might have remained stable had it not been for the invasion in 1315 of Edward Bruce, one of the most calamitous events that ever happened to our land. On his defeat in 1318 the Irish annalist recorded : “ Edward Bruce, the destroyer of all Erin in general, both English and Irish, was slain by the English of Erin through the power of battle and bravery at Dundalk . . . and no better deed for the men of all Erin was performed since the beginning of the world, since the Fomorian race was expelled from Erin, than this deed ; for theft, and famine, and destruction of men occurred throughout Erin during his time for the space of three years and a half, and people used actually to eat one another throughout Erin.”

The name of Robert Bruce suggests liberty to the Scots ; the name of Edward Bruce suggests licence to the Irish. The crimes perpetrated in the name of liberty have been as multifarious as the sins committed on behalf of religion or the battles fought for the sake of peace. Robert Bruce won the battle of Bannockburn, and pursued his victory as far as Northumbria. It was, however, not easy to continue his raid beyond the border. If he could not harass Edward II safely in England, why not harass him in Ireland ? His brother Edward Bruce could lead an expedition which would keep busy the English soldiers. Accordingly in May 1315 he arrived at Larne with six thousand men. Donnell O'Neill, King of Tirowen, and other northern chieftains flocked to his standard. Bruce captured and burnt Dundalk, ravaged the neighbouring country, and burnt the church of Ardee when it was full of fugitives, men, women and children. The Justiciar, Edmund Butler, and Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster and Lord of



Connaught, joined forces and pursued Bruce, who retreated before them to Coleraine. Perhaps the Lord of Connaught was jealous of the power of the law. Anyhow, he separated his men from the Justiciar's and hastened to follow Bruce. At the battle of Connor, September 1315, the Scots triumphed over the English under the Earl of Ulster in the resolute contest that ensued. Inevitably more Irish threw in their lot with the conquerors. In November Bruce defeated Sir Mortimer Roger at Kells, burning down towns and plundering monasteries. Marching south he inflicted in 1316 a defeat on the Justiciar, Edmund Butler, at Ardscoil, but want of supplies obliged him to return to Ulster.

If proof were needed of the profoundness of the Pax Normannica, victories like these afford it. For three generations the English had lived in a state of peace among themselves and with their neighbours. The lords of the 1170 period would easily have co-operated against any common foe; the lords of 1315 had for long felt no need to co-operate against any foe. Peace may have its victories no less renowned than those of war, but the Ireland of the second decade of the fourteenth century was suffering from the effects of long-continued peace. There were family feuds between such families as the de Burghs and the FitzGerald, but these had been softened by intermarriage. On the other hand, the Scots were fresh from the Wars of Independence, and had many experienced soldiers in their ranks. Their pikemen were particularly formidable. Edward Bruce had been present at the battle of Bannockburn, and understood the art of a commander-in-chief. It is easy therefore to understand how the powerful red Earl of Ulster went down before him. His arms laid low the fair edifice of civilisation which the care of the Normans had erected. The outcome was that the fourteenth century in Ireland is at least as gloomy as Stubbs thought the fifteenth in England, and the gloom is in no scanty measure due to the invasion of Edward Bruce.

The ill-success of de Burgo reacted in his possessions in Connaught, stirring up the O'Conors to rebel. Richard de Bermingham proceeded to meet this danger, and he was joined by Sir William de Burgo. The two sides met at Athenry in 1316, with the result that a defeat of the first order was inflicted upon the O'Conors. A contemporary Irish writer explains that at this time "foreigners less noble than our own foreigners arrived; for the old chieftains of Erin prospered under these princely English lords, who were our chief rulers, and who

had given up their foreignness for a pure mind, their surliness for good manners, their stubbornness for sweet mildness, and their perverseness for hospitality. Wherefore it was unjust in our nobility to side with foreigners who were less noble than these, in imitation of the O'Neills, who first dealt treacherously by their own lords on this occasion, so that at this juncture Erin became one trembling surface of commotion."

In December 1316 Robert Bruce set out to meet his brother at Carrickfergus. Marching on Dublin, they failed to take the city and, repulsed near Limerick, they turned back to Ulster. On paper the Bruces had achieved everything, but in reality they had achieved nothing. They had marched from the extreme north to the extreme south. Ulster chieftains had joined them, but the rest of the country held itself aloof. The victory of Athenry taught the Irish, inclined to revolt, that there were unexpected reserves of strength in the English, for this victory had completely smashed the might of the O'Conors of Connaught. The English, in the native eyes, were beaten for the moment, but their power was in no wise broken. Inside Ulster the Scots secured gains; outside Ulster they secured losses. This was quite clear to Robert Bruce, who returned to his own land in May 1317. The doom of his brother was postponed—that was all. The Scots army was now reduced to less than three thousand. Their fame was waning; English fame was waxing.

Marching south again at the hill of Faughart, October 1318, Bruce met the army commanded by John de Bermingham. At last the Scots were beaten in this decisive battle. Edward Bruce and many of his leaders were slain. The war had been marked by slaughter and devastation to a degree unprecedented even in the annals of Irish warfare, and the Irish, in the end, were heartily glad to be rid of Edward Bruce. His campaigns and his failure bring into light a singular fact which is noticeable all through Irish history. In spite of the exactions suffered by the Irish, they would never wholeheartedly support any attempt at the severance of Ireland from the English Crown. The Scots poured army after army into Ireland to aid the cause of Bruce: a huge Scots force marched in the campaign of the two brothers in 1317. England, on the contrary, sent not a man nor a ducat from beginning to end of the three and a half years' war. Bruce was defeated solely by Irish resources and by levies in which the knights and men-at-arms of English origin or descent must have been vastly outnumbered by the native Irish soldiery. Bruce, up

to the battle of Faughart, had fought battle after battle, and was victorious in every one of them. He was beaten by the obstinate refusal of the mass of the Irish people, chiefs and clansmen, to throw in their lot with him. The prosperity of the Irish under the "princely English lords" accounts for much. One cannot suppose the Irish leaders to have had even the dimmest sense of the necessary political union of the British Islands, which was to come to pass three centuries later. It was, however, decisive both now and at other critical epochs. Ireland could many a time have fought and won her Bannockburn, but Faughart remains the type of the decisive action in every Irish war.

In spite of the victory of Faughart the story of English power from 1318 to 1494 is one of continuous decline. The whole fabric of society lay reeling from the severe shock of invasion. The Archduke Constantine remarked: "I do not like war. It spoils the soldiers, dirties their uniforms, and destroys discipline." This *obiter dictum* is peculiarly applicable to the Ireland of the second decade of the fourteenth century. We realise to-day the effects of the Great War on our civilisation. If we can compare small events with great, the war of Bruce left a growing civilisation devoid of fresh growth. The settlers were in process of training to obey law; now every man did what was right in his own eyes. The bonds of society were broken. The burden of Sir John Fortescue's complaint in the middle of the fifteenth century was the lack of Lancastrian governance in England. The burden of Niccolò Machiavelli's complaint at the end of the fifteenth century was the lack of will-power on the part of the State. Had Fortescue or Machiavelli lived in Ireland during either the fourteenth or the fifteenth century they could have found ample ground for similar grumbles. Perhaps we ought to bear in mind that the last quarter of the fourteenth century was a very grave period throughout Europe. There were uprisings from below, full of vague promise and of vague performance. The people grasp at substance and find only shadow. The followers of John Wyclif and John Ball in England, the Jacquerie in France, the Turlupins in the Vaudois, "the Society of the Poor" and the "Beggars" in Germany, the Fraticelli in Italy—all voice the same discontent that was to be found in our own land.

It is abundantly plain that from the period of Bruce's invasion up to Tudor times the power of the English steadily declined and the Pale contracted more and more. By the year 1515 the English Pale had come to mean no more than the limits



marked by Dundalk, Ardee, Kells, Kilcock, Tallaght, Dalkey, Naas, Kilcullen and Ballymore Eustace. This contraction of the Pale was not the result of any definite and organised movement. It was the slow submergence of English authority, English law and English culture. The reason of this submergence is quite evident. The king's writ had ceased to run. The Irish pushed their way by devious and often far-distant channels until tract after tract of Ireland was restored to the anarchical condition of the twelfth century. In the first place, Ulster had been wholly cleared of English officials and settlers during the period of Edward Bruce's dominion there. On his death and the retreat of the Scots, the Irish chieftains, the O'Neills, the O'Donnells, the O'Rourkes and the Maguires re-asserted themselves and completely mastered the province. In the south and east, as the Royal power, then beginning to be seriously engaged in the Hundred Years' War with France, grew feebler, we witness the striking phenomenon, which gives its character to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, of the conquest not of England by Ireland on the battlefield but of English by Irish culture. The descendants of the hard-fisted Norman barons who had conquered the country for Henry II intermarried with the families of Irish chieftains, adopted their language, their customs, their Brehon law, and identified themselves with the clansmen among whom they lived. As the natural state of a Celtic tribe was that of war with its neighbours, a fact not only attested by history but apparent in the whole of the native literature, the Irish chieftain, as war-lord, wielded an authority far more unfettered than that of a Norman baron in a more or less settled state of society, and this possessed its own attractions.

Usually the change was gradual and undemonstrative. It is recorded, however, that two powerful families of the de Burgos of Connaught, now represented by the Marquess of Clanricarde and the Earl of Mayo, seeing that on a question of succession according to the English feudal law they might become vassals to a stranger, went down in state to Athlone, and there in sight of the royal garrison they stripped themselves of their Norman dress and arms and assumed the saffron robes of Celtic chieftains, proclaiming themselves independent of England and assuming the Celtic name of MacWilliam. The proceeding was entirely successful, for they retained their imperilled estates until our own times. The Geraldines, who had vast estates in Munster, were another notable instance, while smaller lords, who either did not conform or had no



effective backing among the natives, were dispossessed and banished by Celtic princes, the O'Briens and the MacCarthys, the O'Sullivans and the O'Mores. To the English mind this was simply a reversion to barbarism. It was conceived to be the mission of England to teach the Irish "civility," as the English understood it. To this end they made laws as to how the Irish, at least those in the eastern half of the country, should dress and wear their hair and ride their horses (in the stirrup, to wit, which the Irish dispensed with), and ordered them to give up names beginning with O and Mac, adopting in their stead ordinary English appellations. To such an extent did "civility," even with the Irish, become identified with English ways, that in the Irish tongue the word "Gaelic" became a synonym for what was rustic and uncouth.

The truth as to this conflict of cultures is that the Irish were neither barbarians, as the English thought them, nor had they the highly developed national culture attributed to them by modern Irish patriotism. Many accounts by unprejudiced observers, as well as references in the native literature and annals, show that on the surface Celtic Ireland must have looked an untidy, disorderly country, largely composed of swamp and forest, its inhabitants hardy and well-grown but squalid enough in their persons and their homes, caring little for the comforts and refinements of life. Stone buildings for other than ecclesiastical purposes were introduced by the English, while the ordinary Irish house was of wattles and clay, plastered with lime. In political and social organisation they were, as they have remained to this day, extraordinarily backward and unteachable, the characteristic mark of the Celt, as Mommsen noted in dealing with Cæsar's conquest of Gaul. Nowhere in England during the Middle Ages would a panegyric, for example that in "The Pursuit of Diarmud and Grania," have been written of a great noble in which his unremitting energy and success in plundering his neighbours was lauded as a distinguished service. In his *View of the Present State of Ireland*, Edmund Spenser is clearly impressed by the prominence attached to the motive of plundering in the themes of Irish poetry. Even so late as the sixteenth century a newly-inaugurated chief was expected to make a foray on some neighbour in order to prove his valour and capacity.

It is difficult to open a page of the Irish Annals without finding records of aimless bickerings and forays carried on not between English and Irish but among the Irish chieftains

themselves, often masked by circumstances of savage ferocity and always accompanied by the wasting and the burning of the land. These things must be remembered when we try seriously to appreciate the task of the English in Ireland and the way they fulfilled it. On the other hand, this backwardness in political development and in the amenities of life was accompanied by a literary and artistic culture of ancient origin and of a very original, and within its limits very beautiful, character. Poets, musicians and brehons learned in the native law and in tribal genealogies abounded, and were held in high honour at the courts of the native princes. No people ever had a greater veneration for learning: it was only in Ireland perhaps that the popular imagination could have invented such a legend as that at the death of a great eleventh-century scholar, Flann of Monasterboice, all the books in the country fell from their shelves in dismay. An exquisite decorative art was also practised, and this art owed much not only to ideas of the east but also to men of the east. Besides the great illuminated manuscripts, croziers, chalices, book-shrines, sword-sheaths, brooches and ornaments of all kinds in gold, silver and bronze, decorated with enamels or filigree work of incredible delicacy and beauty, remain in the National Museum of Dublin to testify to the unsurpassed refinement and skill. One of the latest as well as finest relics of Irish artistic handicraft is the processional cross of Cong, which bears an inscription showing that it was made by order of King Turlough O'Connor in 1123. The period of the great sculptured stone crosses ranges from the tenth to the thirteenth century, affording another proof that it was the most wonderful of the whole Middle Ages.

During the course of this reflux of the power of the Irish the English Pale became more and more contracted, forming little more than a narrow strip of sea-coast from Dundalk to Ballymore Eustace, the lands in the interior being only held by English settlers by paying blackmail, "black rent," to the Celtic chieftains who bordered on them. Even within the Pale the English power now fell into a state of utter disorganisation. The "old English" fought with the newcomers, officials stole the public funds, troops plundered the settlers they were sent to protect, everyone fled the country who could do so, and the settlement seemed in danger of total extinction. One strong and united effort on the part of the Irish would during the fourteenth century have driven the English into the sea and undone the work of Henry II, but

after two centuries of fighting the English the intertribal hatreds and jealousies of the Irish were still too strong to permit even the semblance of a national union, or to make the wrongs of a MacMurrough or an O'More of the slightest concern to an O'Brien or a MacCarthy.

To remedy the distresses of the Pale, internal and external, Edward III sent over his son Lionel, afterwards Duke of Clarence. This prince had personal interests in Ireland. He had married Elizabeth, daughter of William de Burgo, Earl of Ulster and Lord of Connaught, thus bringing about the very succession to prevent the operation of which the de Burgos of Connaught had formally repudiated English authority and feudal law. He came to Ireland with an army of 1,500 English soldiers, partly to assert his own rights, partly to restore Royal authority and to save the colony. His unwise proceedings, especially in holding himself aloof from the old English and relying wholly on inexperienced soldiers, first brought on him heavy defeat at the hands of the O'Briens of Thomond. Though the military disaster was afterwards retrieved, he could, in the course of his three visits in 1361, 1364 and 1366, accomplish nothing of his personal objects and little of any other. His last visit, however, was marked by the passing of the famous Statute of Kilkenny in 1366. This Act is a complete confession that the rule of the English was failing fast, and that the only policy left was to retreat within the narrow strip of land embraced by the Pale. It was only within this district that it possessed binding power. Inside it all intermarriage, traffic and intimate social relations with the "Irish enemy" were forbidden; no man must use the Irish form of a name, ride in the Irish fashion or use the Irish language. No Irish ecclesiastic was to be appointed to any church, nor must an Irishman enter any monastic establishment within the Pale. An English lord or settler must not entertain Irish poets, musicians or story-tellers: these were often men spying out the nakedness of the land. The settlers were to adopt the common law, not the Brehon law, "which reasonably ought not to be called law, being a bad custom."

One important object of this statute was to restrain deeds of violence on the part of the English. This comes out in the twenty-sixth section: "Also, it is ordained that if truce or peace be made by the justices, or wardens of the peace, or the sheriff, between English and Irish, and they shall be broken by any English, and thereof be attainted, he shall be taken and put in prison until satisfaction be made by him



to those who shall be disturbed [or] injured by that occasion, and he shall moreover make fine at the king's will; and if there is not wherewith to make restitution to those who shall be injured, he shall remain in perpetual imprisonment. And such wardens and sheriffs shall have power to enquire concerning those who shall have broken the peace." Sir John Fortescue and Niccolò Machiavelli had complained of the lack of governance, and every line of the Statute of Kilkenny proves that authority in the English State in Ireland was entirely wanting. This measure was conceived in despair and was in fact a policy of despair. The Romans at least built a wall of stone in order to keep the Scots outside their border; the English built a wall of paper in order to keep the Irish outside theirs. Walls, whether they be of stone or paper, require men behind them, and there were no men, strong men, of action within the Pale.

The provision of the 1367 measure against intermarriage with the Irish gave rise to one of the most remarkable episodes of this epoch. Art Mac Murrough Kavanagh, King of Leinster and a direct descendant of the Dermot Mac Murrough who brought in the Normans, married about the year 1378 Eliza de Veele, daughter of Maurice FitzGerald, fourth Earl of Kildare. This lady was the owner of great properties in Kildare, which the English government now seized on the ground that she had violated the Statute of Kilkenny by marrying an Irishman. At the same time they stopped her husband's "black rent" of eighty marks a year. Mac Murrough immediately declared war, and harried and wasted four counties until the government submitted and restored his eighty marks. Murrough O'Brien of Thomond also attacked the Pale, apparently as an act of pure brigandage, and had to be bought off with one hundred marks. Richard II now determined to take the pacification of Ireland seriously in hand, and he landed at Waterford in 1394 with 34,000 men, the greatest force ever sent at one time to the conquest of Ireland.

Mac Murrough, on hearing of the King's landing, attacked and captured New Ross, taking great booty, and severely harassed the royal forces on their march to Dublin. King Richard fared little better against other border chiefs. Without any military decision having been reached, the Irish not only on the borders of the Pale but throughout the country generally resolved on submission, apparently with the idea that fealty to the King would alter their status from that of the "Irish enemy" and secure them in their territories against



English lords and viceroys and against Irish chieftains. The truth is that the Irish were heartily tired of the state of chaos in which they lived. Not only Mac Murrough—who was confirmed in his “black rent” and his wife’s property—but O’Brien of Thomond and even some of the northern chieftains with O’Neill at their head appeared in Dublin, seventy-five in all, did homage to the King, and were splendidly entertained by him, though it was characteristically required of them that they should appear in English costume and observe English customs at the feast.

An extraordinary arrangement was arrived at on this occasion. Every Irish chieftain and clan in Leinster were required by a certain day to vacate the province, which the King intended to plant with purely English settlers. The chiefs were to get pensions for life, and were at liberty to carve out new possessions for themselves from the untamed Irish beyond the Pale. This proposal, unlike the Ulster Plantation which it anticipated by more than two centuries, came to nothing. Not a Leinster chief moved, and the King returned to England after a fruitless residence of nine months. He left behind him a Deputy, his cousin Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, who after two years was slain in battle against Mac Murrough and the Leinster clans at Kells, Mac Murrough having been incited to a fresh outbreak by the rescission of the grant of his Kildare barony.

The King resolved on a fresh expedition, directed mainly against Mac Murrough, and landed with a large army at Waterford in May 1399. Among the King’s retinue on this occasion was a youth of thirteen years who was knighted by King Richard on the eve of the battle with Mac Murrough. This was Henry of Lancaster, afterwards Henry V of England, a typical mediæval hero if ever there was one. Richard’s forces had sought out Mac Murrough in the fastnesses of the Wicklow mountains, but that chieftain retreated deeper into the woods and morasses, avoiding open battle but harrying the enemy and cutting off his supplies until the whole army, in danger of starvation and seriously reduced in numbers, had to retreat to the sea, whence it could receive sorely-needed supplies from Dublin. A parley was now arranged, but no terms could be arranged, as Mac Murrough demanded a complete amnesty for all that had chanced since the King’s first visit to Ireland, and this Richard refused to grant. Before further measures could be taken Richard was recalled to England by the news of Bolingbroke’s invasion, and soon Henry IV

was reigning in his stead. The war with Mac Murrough continued with varying fortune, but the indomitable chieftain held his own till the end of 1417, when he died in his sixtieth year after a reign of forty-two years as King of Leinster. The Four Masters described him as "a man who had defended his own province against the English and the Irish from his sixteenth to his sixtieth year; a man full of hospitality, knowledge and chivalry; a man full of prosperity and royalty; and the enricher of churches and monasteries."

About the middle of the fifteenth century a better day seemed to have dawned for Ireland when Richard, Duke of York, father of Richard III, came over as Viceroy with very exceptional powers, which he used with true statesmanship. He insisted on fair dealing with the natives, and forbade the illegal but common practice of "coyne and livery," or the quartering of native soldiers on the inhabitants, by which both they and the English settlers were constantly oppressed and plundered. His efforts were neutralised by the incurable turbulence of the border clans, who could neither leave the English in peace nor unite to expel them. The Wars of the Roses, which broke out in 1455, not only absorbed the energies of the English but split Ireland into fresh factions, the Geraldines siding with the Yorkists and the Butlers (Ormondes) with the Lancastrians. The Irish encroached more and more, and at last the territory subject to English authority was reduced to fractions of the counties of Louth, Meath, Dublin and Kildare, and the inhabitants only maintained themselves by paying a heavy "black rent" to the surrounding chieftains. It seemed as if the English were on the point of departure from Ireland. One reason why they did not depart is that the Irish chiefs were so anxious to receive their "black rent" that they refused to let them depart. In 1465 the Dublin Parliament renewed and extended the futile measures of the Statute of Kilkenny against Irish interpenetration, and in order to check the constant marauding and thieving which went on within the Pale, where all law was now at an end, it offered a price for the head of any Irishman found going or coming in the Pale without being accompanied by "some faithful Englishman of good name or fame, in English apparel." This despairing enactment was as fruitless as the Statute of Kilkenny.

The first rise of the great Geraldine family took place at this period, in 1463, when the "Great Earl," Thomas, eighth Earl of Desmond, was appointed Deputy. He was, however, badly

defeated both by O'Connor of Offaly, who held him prisoner for a time, and by the O'Briens of Thomond. He fell a victim ultimately to an intrigue in the English court, and was supplanted by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, and executed with his two infant children in 1467. It was an omen of the fate of the nobility under the Tudors.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE NEW MONARCHY

WITH the triumph of the Lancastrians and the accession of the Tudor dynasty under Henry VII, the first of the new monarchs, in 1485, a new chapter was opened in Irish history. But who can say precisely when the new bud begins to sap the old leaf on the tree? Does modern history begin with the discovery of the New World by Columbus in 1492? Does it begin with the invasion of Italy by Charles VIII in 1494? Does it begin with the nailing up of the ninety-five theses by Luther in 1517? Does it begin, in Irish history, with the accession of James I? There are weighty reasons for supporting this latter view.

If one were asked why the fifteenth century did not witness the termination of the power of the English in Ireland, one might reply that the Irish chieftains insisted on the receipt of their "black rent." A more far-reaching answer would be to say that because the Turks destroyed the mediæval trade-routes passing through the Levant, the English remained in Ireland. The Byzantine Empire, the Italians and the Saracens found the way for their ships blocked by the Turkish invader. What was to be done? If the old route from the West to the East was impassable, was there not another one? It was surely possible to cross to the East by way of the Atlantic. So Columbus thought, and he discovered America. His discovery had momentous consequences for Europe in general and for Ireland in particular. One outcome of the Columbian discovery was that trade flowed from the south of Europe to the north. The Atlantic superseded the Mediterranean. England was no longer what Shakespeare called her, "that utmost corner of the West." If England was not that utmost corner any more, emphatically Ireland was not. Up to 1492 she served as a breakwater between England and the Atlantic Ocean. Now her position was entirely altered. For the first time in her chequered history she controlled the new trade-routes between England and the New World. Who was to



control Ireland? It was evident to the Tudors that the re-establishment of authority among the Irish was vital, for they were able to affect English commerce, now beginning to grow on a large scale. The new monarch, Henry VII, knew right well that he must rule England; the discovery of Columbus taught him that he must rule Ireland as well.

For the first time under Henry VII a serious attempt was made not merely to subdue the native princes and impose a Pax Normannica on one half of the island, but to impose a Pax Britannica on both halves of the island. The task was that of substituting English law for Irish and of bringing the country directly, or as directly as the circumstances permitted, under the rule of the English Crown and Legislature. The Norman barons and the settlers they brought with them had failed to transform Ireland into a feudal monarchy on the English model except in the eastern half of the land during the thirteenth century. By the close of the fifteenth century they had mostly been driven out or had gone over to the Irish. The Irish had now their greatest opportunity for three hundred years, but they were, as a poet in later days described them, "heaps of uncementing sand." They thought of nothing but their blackmail of the English, their eternal forays, their rude royalty hymned by obsequious bards and maintained by bands of professional swordsmen; they proved as incapable as ever, in spite of their admixture of English blood and English culture, of grasping a true political idea. They would neither submit to English authority nor could they evolve an authority of their own.

Anarchy and misrule had at last grown intolerable, and it was the work of the Tudors in Ireland to begin to make an end of it, though the end was not to be for close on two hundred years. It was a work carried out at times with circumstances of flagrant wrong and frightful cruelty, for the English in Ireland by no means regarded themselves as missionaries of justice and civilisation; the Irish were frankly for them the "Irish enemy." The common folk might have had peace and security, no doubt, but, except for spasmodic attempts by a few exceptional governors, it must be added that the Irish chiefs would, on the whole, have gained little by individual submissions; it was merely the difference between losing their lands by the sword or losing them by the law. Their only chance lay in a national combination which would have enabled them either to make terms of submission with guarantees for just dealing or to expel the English entirely. Of this they were

incapable; the destinies had been very long suffering with their blindness and egotism, and, after the discovery of Columbus, their hour had come.

Two years after the epoch-making discovery of a new continent in 1492, the first important act of Henry VII was to send Sir Edward Poynings as Deputy to Ireland, with the specific mission of bringing Ireland directly under the control of the new dynasty. Poynings's Law was passed in 1494 at an important Irish Parliament held at Drogheda.<sup>1</sup> This measure ordered that no future Parliaments should be convened in Ireland, "but at such season as the King's Lieutenant and Council there first do certify the King under the great seal of that land [i.e. Ireland], the causes and considerations, and all such Acts as then seemeth should pass in the same Parliament, and such causes, considerations, and Acts affirmed by the King and his Council to be good and expedient for that land, and his licence thereupon, as well as affirmation of the said causes and Acts as to summon the said Parliament under the great seal of England, had and obtained. That done, a Parliament to be had and holden after the form and effect afore rehearsed, and if any Parliament be holden in that land hereafter contrary to the form and provisions aforesaid, it be deemed void and of none effect in law." The supremacy of one law, and that law the English, is obviously the task Sir Edward Poynings set himself to carry out. It is worthy of note that the judges laid down this policy nine years before it was enacted. The second Act passed by Poynings's Parliament ordains that all public statutes "later made within the said realm of England" apply to Ireland. Another of the proceedings of this Parliament was a direction to the inhabitants of Louth, Meath, Dublin and Kildare, where they bordered on the Irish, to build a double ditch and wall six feet high all round the Pale from sea to sea as a protection against the Irish raiders. This indicates the smallest area ever claimed by English authority.

The first measure is that which is indissolubly associated with the name of Sir Edward Poynings, and as it remained in legal force up to 1782 and in practical force to 1800, it deserves careful scrutiny. It is plainly an attempt of the English colony to protect themselves against the Viceroy who, with

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to give a definite date for the first Irish Parliament, for it seems to have gradually developed from Councils which were not really parliaments. Perhaps Wogan's Parliament of 1295 may be looked on as the first genuine one.

the aid of packed Parliaments, had been ruling with autocratic power. These Viceroys had used Parliament to serve their own purposes, with the result that they had practically assumed the powers of Royalty. A Tudor like Henry VII could not brook this independent authority, and he put it down with a high hand. The English were delighted with the measure, for in it they saw their way to curb the influence, the undue influence, of the Viceroy. It was their safeguard against Viceregal exactions, and the parliamentary history of the sixteenth century is one long commentary on the statement that they regarded it as the palladium of their liberty. *Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos* is the mission Virgil assigned to the Roman Empire; it was the parliamentary practice of Henry VII in Ireland: in both cases it was a profitable policy, and in both cases it was a sound policy.

The working of the all-important 1494 measure shows how well the Deputy was controlled. The heads of all proposed bills came before the Irish Privy Council for its consideration. When approved of, these heads then came before the English Privy Council for its consideration. On retransmission to Dublin they were submitted to both Houses, and when passed they received the royal assent. On the one side the action of the deputy was checked by the Privy Councils, and on the other by Parliament. There are, however, disadvantages to all legislation. A drawback to Poynings's Act was that as a letter took a month to answer, the Deputy found himself in a state of emergency hampered by its operation. In 1533, 1537 and 1542 it was therefore suspended, but the Parliament watched its suspension with jealous eyes. In 1569 an Act was passed guarding the principle embodied in the measure of 1494. In 1569 Parliament protested when Sir H. Sydney desired to suspend it, maintaining the freedom of action they had enjoyed for seventy-five years. This protest was renewed in the Parliament of 1585, and it is very obvious from the proceedings at that period that the members were profoundly convinced how far-reaching was their freedom, the freedom they received at the hands of Sir Edward Poynings.

The next important step taken by Henry VII was the selection of a great Irish noble in the person of Gerald FitzGerald, Earl of Kildare, to be Viceroy, instead of sending over an English official as the representative of the Crown. Kildare was a Yorkist who had supported Simnel, and his fierce temper had embroiled him with many of the leading Anglo-Irish families. When accused before the King in 1496 of having



burned the cathedral of Cashel, the only excuse he offered was that he thought that the Archbishop was in it. "All Ireland," declared the Bishop of Meath, "cannot rule this gentleman." "No!" replied Henry VII; "then he is meet to rule all Ireland"—an answer to which the Archbishop of Cashel, who was present in court, must have listened with considerable anxiety. Ruling Ireland was an unattainable ideal for him or for any man in those days, but he made constant and on the whole successful war, siding now with one Irish prince, now with another, in their never-ending inter-tribal wars. With the O'Kellys and many other Irish and English lords he inflicted a terrible defeat on the O'Briens, the Mac Williams and the O'Carrolls at Knockdoe near Galway in 1504. This was said to have been the most obstinate and bloody battle ever fought on Irish soil since the Connaught Irish under Felim O'Connor and the O'Briens of Thomond had been defeated at Athenry by William de Burgo during the invasion of Edward Bruce. Kildare died at Athy in 1513. He had been Viceroy for nearly twenty years, and during this period he had carried the King's arms in victory to the Shannon in the west, to Antrim in the north, and to Killarney in the south. He did not, it is true, maintain any permanent and settled authority in these districts, but at least the Pale was no longer on the defensive, cowering behind its double ditch. With the Earl of Kildare the genuine conquest of Ireland may be said to have begun. The bold decision of Henry VII had been amply justified.

On Kildare's death he was succeeded by his son Gerald Oge (Gerald the younger), who pursued his father's course with even greater success, ravaging Wicklow where the O'Tooles had risen in rebellion, and scourging the O'Mores of Leix and the O'Carrolls of Tipperary. Local intrigues, fomented in particular by the Butlers, the hereditary enemies of the Fitz-Geralds, in 1519 brought him to England on charges of malversation and of traitorous correspondence with the enemy. Gerald Oge, after an interim, during which his place was indifferently filled first by the far-seeing Earl of Surrey and then by Pierce Butler, Earl of Ormonde, was sent back as Viceroy in 1524. He was shortly again under suspicion of letting his kinsman, James, Earl of Desmond, escape arrest, he having entered into negotiations with Francis I of France to invade Ireland.

Gerald Oge was examined before Cardinal Wolsey and the Privy Council in 1526, but defended himself so vigorously that



he was never put on trial, and, things going badly with the Pale—the Vice-Deputy, Nugent, Lord Delvin, was actually kidnapped and carried off by the O'Conors of Offaly—he went back to Ireland, first as assistant to the titular Deputy, Sir William Skeffington, and in 1532 in supreme authority. His fortunes now began to turn for the worse. From this time he became more the Earl of Kildare, with all the family feuds of his house, and less the King's representative. In 1533 the Dublin Privy Council sent John Alen, the Master of the Rolls, to England with a long report and indictment of Kildare's doings to be laid before Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell. This important document describes the lamentable state to which Ireland had been reduced by the constant change of Deputies, by the illegal but still continued exaction of "coyne and livery," and in particular by the unbounded power and incessant dissensions of the great Anglo-Irish lords, especially naming the Butlers and the two Geraldines, Kildare and Desmond. The report describes the Pale as being now only twenty miles long, and continually diminishing, as English settlers fled from the intolerable conditions of the country. Neither Butler nor Geraldine, it goes on, should be regarded as eligible for the Viceroyalty, and as no other noble in Ireland would have a chance of being obeyed, it was urged that a reversion should be made to the custom of appointing an Englishman. The reform of that part of Ireland, which was still professedly loyal, was pushed on as the immediate and pressing object. "When your Grace has reformed your earls, English lords and others your subjects, then proceed to the reformation of your Irish rebels."

In consequence of this report, Kildare received for the third time a summons to answer for his conduct in Ireland. He delayed obedience as long as he could, and utilised the time in storing his castles with as much in the way of arms and ammunition as he could draw from the Government stores in Dublin; but a repeated and peremptory order compelled his obedience, and he sailed for England in 1532, after delivering the Sword of State to his son, as Deputy, a youth of twenty-one, known as Silken Thomas. In a wise and touching address Kildare bade the young man, thus placed in a position so full of difficulties and dangers, remember that it was "easy to raze but hard to build," and urged him to be guided by the Privy Council, in whose presence at Drogheda this discourse was delivered, "for albeit in authority you rule them, yet in counsel they must rule you." "My son," he added, "al-

though my fatherly affection requireth my discourse to be longer, yet I trust your good inclination asketh it to be shorter. And upon that assurance, here in the presence of this honourable assembly, I deliver you this sword."

This was the prologue to one of the most tragic, lamentable and disastrous episodes in Irish history. The Geraldines had by this time become, as the saying went, "more Irish than the Irish themselves." They were a family of heroic and chivalrous strain. In Kildare and Desmond the heads of their two main branches ruled as Kings, with their gallowglasses (i.e. soldiers), their bards and minstrels, their stores of Irish books. One of these was a notable poem in the Irish language. The Geraldines were related by marriage or fosterage to half the native Irish princes. It was a bold experiment, while Irish Ireland was yet far from being subdued, to choose one of this family to rule the land and maintain peace for England. The first choice, as we have seen, was well justified by the event. The second seemed more dubious; whether he were the victim of calumny or not, it can hardly be said that Gerald Oge's Viceroyalty was a success. He should have known how to avoid calumny. And now came a testing strain under which the loyalty and the dominion of the Geraldines gave way. Their enemies goaded Silken Thomas to his doom. They spread false reports that his father, Gerald Oge, had been beheaded in the Tower of London and that his kin in Ireland were marked down for the same fate.

On fire at the news, Silken Thomas immediately concerted measures for rebellion with several of the Irish chieftains, and they marched on Dublin. At the head of a band of armed men—the only hostile force that had ever entered the city since its surrender to Strongbow—he rode through the streets, entered the council-chamber in the Castle, and in spite of the grief and the entreaties of his father's friend, Archbishop Cromer, now Lord Chancellor, he flung down the Sword of State on the table, and went out amid the wild applause of his followers, an open rebel against the Crown. This was the first time such a step had ever been taken by an Irish Viceroy or Deputy. It was perhaps the first time also that Anglo-Irish relations were to be embittered by religious differences, for Silken Thomas declared for the Pope as against Henry VIII's claim to ecclesiastical supremacy.

The rebel forces immediately possessed themselves of Dublin, but could not take the Castle. The adventure was stained and its fate sealed at the very outset by the murder of Archbishop

Allen, who had been captured as he was attempting to escape to England, and shortly afterwards the Dublin citizen forces drove out his Irish bands while Thomas was fighting his hereditary enemies, the Butlers, in Kilkenny. His father, Gerald Oge, who was lying ill in the Tower, died on hearing the dismal news of his son's revolt. Thomas succeeded in bringing to his side O'Connor of Offaly, O'More of Leix and O'Carroll of Ossory as well as the O'Neills and the O'Briens. Many other Irish chiefs, however, joined the Crown, and the new Deputy, Sir William Skeffington, took the Geraldine stronghold at Maynooth, using artillery for the first time in Ireland. The modern gun proved the constant foe of feudalism, and in its way was as potent as Poynings's Law in another way in augmenting the authority of Henry VIII.

The capture of Maynooth broke the rebellion. O'More went over to the English, and O'Connor and Silken Thomas submitted. O'Connor was pardoned and Thomas received a pledge that his life should be spared. He was kept a close prisoner in the Tower for eighteen months and executed in February 1537, together with five other Geraldines, his uncles, although the latter had held themselves aloof from the rebellion. It had lasted about a year and had resulted in nothing but the misery and the reckless devastation which were always the accompaniments of Irish wars. Two young brothers of Silken Thomas were still living. The elder, Gerald, a child of twelve, was eagerly sought for by the English, but protected by the Irish chiefs, who even formed a league—the first Geraldine League—to defend his rights. He was rapidly moved about Ireland to evade the unremitting search-parties of the English, and eventually escaped to France and thence to Rome, where he was hospitably received and well educated by Cardinal Pole. He was ultimately reinstated as eleventh Earl of Kildare by Queen Mary in 1554. His reinstatement, however, did not mean the restoration of the old baronial power possessed by his family; that power was going, if not gone.

## CHAPTER V

### THE REFORMATION

No one to-day can doubt the zeal which the Irish Roman Catholic displays to his Church. No one during the first half of the sixteenth century can doubt the want of zeal a Churchman then displayed. He was a man for the most part quite indifferent to his spiritual welfare. The movements initiated in the world of thought by Erasmus and in the world of action by Luther left him unmoved. There was a Renaissance in Europe both in learning in general and in theology in particular, but there was no Renaissance in Ireland. There was a Renaissance in England, and this new birth only affected our land through the policy of our rulers.

Of course there were exceptions to this spirit of indifferentism shown by the bulk of the Irish. Such an exception is manifest in the inquiry instituted in 1515 by an Irishman and a deeply religious man. He notes that "some sayeth that the prelates of the Church and clergy is much cause of all the misorder of the land ; for there is no archbishop or bishop, abbot or prior, parson or vicar, or any other person of the Church, high or low, great or small, English or Irish, that useth to preach the Word of God, saving the poor friars beggars ; and where the Word of God do cease, there can be no grace ; and without the special [grace] of God this land may never be reformed. And by the preaching and teaching of prelates of the Church, and by prayer and orison of devout persons of the same, God useth alway to grant His abundant grace ; ergo, the Church, not using the premises, is much the cause of all the said misorder of this land." He is quite clear that "the noble folk of Ireland oppresseseth, spoileth the prelates of the Church of Christ of their possessions and liberties ; and therefore they have no fortune or grace, in prosperity of body or soul. Who supporteth the Church of Christ in Ireland save the poor commons ?" Nor is this question mere rhetoric. The State Papers, English and Irish, and, above all, the Carew Papers, testify plainly to the deplorable state of religion years before



the Reformation. True, there were efforts, self-denying efforts, in the regular work of the seculars and, towards the end of the sixteenth century, in the irregular work of the Spanish, French and English friars.

Of the five hundred religious houses, Henry VIII in 1528 suppressed forty. In the Middle Ages these houses had fulfilled a useful function, but the days of their usefulness had passed or was passing away.

“God fulfils Himself in many ways,  
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.”

The monks had introduced good customs in improved agriculture, but they were not continuing their beneficial labours. Contemporary evidence attests that they were neither easy nor popular landlords. Twelve more monasteries were also suppressed. A remarkable Act was passed confiscating for the Crown all estates in Ireland belonging to absentee owners, of whom there were not a few among the English nobility.

Henry VIII summoned a Parliament in 1537 under the Deputy, Lord Leonard Grey, who had broken the Geraldine rebellion; and this body, after eliminating certain clerical representatives, adopted the King's claim to supremacy in the Church. The only opposition shown was that of the proctors of the clergy, who did not care for the declaration that the King was supreme head, on earth, of the Church of Ireland. On the other hand, prelates like Archbishop Browne of Dublin promoted these momentous measures. An oath of supremacy was henceforth to be taken by all officers of the State, any who refused being declared guilty of high treason. Of course the authority of the Bishop of Rome, as he was styled, was repudiated, and the State was for the future to hear all appeals in spiritual causes.

These measures passed easily through a Parliament which was no more subservient to Lord Leonard Grey than the English Parliament was subservient to Henry VIII. There was opposition to the King in London when members did not approve of his policy, just as there was opposition to the Deputy in Dublin when members did not approve of his policy. In truth the freedom afforded by Poynings's Law permitted and indeed encouraged opposition. The Commissioners appointed to examine into the state of the kingdom confirm the complaints lodged by the Irishman who inquired in 1515. They

noted that the bishops and the officials of their courts exacted excessive fees for the probate of wills. This evil example was copied by the priests, who also exacted such fees for baptisms, for weddings and for burials. Archbishop Browne lays stress, in a letter written in 1538 to Thomas Cromwell, on the fact that "the people of this nation be zealous, yet blind and unknowing: most of the clergy, as your lordship hath from me before, being ignorant, and not able to speak the right words in mass or liturgy; as being not skilled in the Latin grammar, so that a bird might be taught to speak with as much sense as several of them do in this country."

Churchmen in England like Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher gave up their life rather than give up their faith, which was dearer to them than life. It is a striking fact that not a single Roman Catholic in Ireland gave up his life for his faith. Some perished—but they perished for treason, not for religion. There were Marian and Elizabethan persecutions in England, but there was neither in Ireland. In the reign of Elizabeth, for example, the oath of supremacy was a dead letter. There was every reason to think that the bulk of the Irish people would have embraced Protestantism had there been any pains taken to instruct them in this faith. There were preaching and teaching, but both were in the English tongue, which the mass of the people could not understand. It was not until the seventeenth century that a real attempt was made to translate either the Bible or the Book of Common Prayer into Irish. Bishop Bedell saw the necessity of these translations, but the seventeenth century was just a century too late. Nor were the efforts of the Roman Catholic Church in any wise more successful. Paul III exerted himself, but his exertions were in vain. The Irish in the reigns of Henry VIII and of Edward VI remained unmoved by all that the Papal See tried to do. Mary also followed up the Roman plans, but she failed just as much as Paul III. It was reserved for the reign of Queen Elizabeth to witness the awakening of the inhabitants to the ministrations provided by the Church of Rome.

In 1538 Paul III had launched his Bull of excommunication against Henry VIII, releasing his subjects from their allegiance. This Bull was extensive enough in its scope. For the king found himself dethroned, his alliances with other sovereigns dissolved, his nobles ordered to take up arms against him, his conduct pronounced infamous, and his doom "eternal damnation." For the moment the Bull produced but little effect,

but one day it was to produce results, as Elizabeth found to her cost.

In 1539 the Archbishops of Tuam and Cashel together with eight other bishops took the oath of supremacy, and before the end of Henry VIII's reign their good example had been copied by the clergy generally. "I entirely renounce obedience," held Conn O'Neill the Lame, "to the Roman Pontiff, and I recognise the King to be supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland under Christ, and I will compel all living under my rule to do the same." Nor was he singular in his renunciation. The O'Donnells and the O'Mahons, the O'Mores and the O'Rorkes, and the Earl of Desmond also threw off the claims of Rome.

In the meantime Lord Leonard Grey prosecuted the war which had long been the normal condition of things between the English and the Irish clans (and especially the Geraldine League) with great energy and success. He did not, however, escape the usual peril of detraction, envy and intrigue. Although few Viceroys had ever done so much for the extension of British authority in Ireland, he was brought to trial for treason in 1540, the main charge being that he had connived at the escape of the young Earl Gerald, and he was executed in the following year. It appeared from an inquiry instituted shortly afterwards that the whole available revenue of Ireland at this time was less than five thousand a year. Far more than this was raised, but it was intercepted on its way to the Treasury by a hundred forms of malversation and embezzlement.

The appointment of Sir Antony St. Leger as Viceroy was coincident with a certain desire for peace and order manifested by the Irish, notably by the northern chiefs, O'Neill and O'Donnell, who wrote to that effect directly to King Henry. St. Leger, partly by force, partly by good management, partly by personal conference, and partly by strict good faith, succeeded to a very remarkable degree in winning the submission of almost all the Irish and the Anglo-Irish ruling families. Among others was the family of Mac Murrough, whose head renounced his Irish title for the name of Kavanagh, by which his family is still known, and agreed to hold his lands on the English tenure of knight service.

All this led to the great event of a Parliament held in Dublin in 1541 at which for the first time the great Irish chieftains attended, the speeches of the Lord Chancellor and other English officials being translated into Irish for their benefit. They adopted unanimously an Act conferring on Henry VIII the



title of King of Ireland. Each chieftain signed a declaration of submission to his authority, including an acknowledgment of his supremacy in the Church, and the native titles of O'Neill, O'Donnell, Mac William and the like were renounced in favour of English earldoms or baronies. It was at this time that Henry VIII included the Irish harp in the Royal Arms as the heraldic badge of Ireland. Four times the Irish chieftains had generally submitted. They had submitted to Henry II, to John, to Richard II and now to Henry VIII; but the last submission was the only effective one among the four. This submission was hailed as the advent of a new era which seemed to have dawned for the distracted country, and which was to be based on a conciliatory policy, strict integrity and the firm repression of the demands for warfare made by the colonists and their leaders in Ireland.

What was the cause, whose was the fault, which overclouded this fair promise and brought in an era of devastation, misery and bloodshed? At bottom the failure of Henry VIII's statesmanlike policy, when applied by his successors, was due to the fact that the submission of the chieftains was not a national one; the nation, so far as there was a nation, understood nothing about it, and the adoption of the English law and land-tenure was only skin-deep. Every chief was supposed to have relinquished his territories to the King and to have received them again by English tenure with descent by primogeniture to his heirs male. But by the Irish Brehon law, when a prince died, his successor or *tanist* was elected by the clan among the *stirps regia* or ruling family, of whom he was supposed to be the ablest representative. It was an arrangement which inevitably provoked factious opposition and wars, and the English were right to abolish it; but to make the abolition effective without provoking constant appeals to arms would have been a work of much time, more tact and most patience. These were qualities for which neither Mary nor Elizabeth nor, still less, their representatives in Ireland were conspicuous. As a matter of fact, whenever a chief died and his eldest son succeeded him, an Irish *tanist* generally arose to contest his claims, with some sort of popular approval. A rebellion took place, and the forces of the Crown took time to make their power felt. In the meantime, other interests were drawn into the struggle, and the result was one of the minor wars, ferocious and devastating, in which the land had for centuries been involved.

The speedy and complete subjugation or assimilation of the



country had also now become a cardinal point of British policy, in view of the new position which Ireland assumed as the outcome of the Columbian discovery and in view of the Continental wars in which England was engaged. The Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Sussex, wrote in 1560 a letter to Queen Elizabeth in which he strikes a note re-echoed again and again in Anglo-Irish history. He would, he said, have measures of protection taken "not so much for the care I have for Ireland, which I have often wished to be sunk in the sea, as for that if the French should set foot therein, they should not only have such an entry into Scotland as her Majesty could not resist, but also by the commodity of the havens there, and Calais now in their possession they should take utterly from England all kinds of peaceable traffic by sea, whereby would ensue such a rush to England as I am afraid to think on." It is perfectly obvious that at the end of the reign of Henry VIII the authority of the sovereign was steadily growing. The Annals of the Four Masters confess that "the power of the English was great and immense in Ireland."

The first actual breach of the peace imposed by Henry VIII came from the Irish side. While St. Leger was still Viceroy, in the first year of Edward VI (1547), the O'Mores and the O'Conors of Offaly broke out wantonly and raided the County Kildare. St. Leger harried the land mercilessly and compelled the chiefs to surrender. They were sent to London, where they were honourably treated, but the two territories of Leix and Offaly were annexed to the Pale under Philip and Mary. Their new names were King's County and Queen's County, and they were planted in 1556 with English settlers, whom, however, the native population eventually drove out. As both sovereigns were Roman Catholics, it is evident that religion played no part in the first Plantation which the Tudor policy tried to carry out. Indeed, in not a single one of the sixteenth-century Plantations was there any examination into the faith of the settler.

With the accession of Elizabeth the religious question begins to loom large. Superstition, from the earliest times, was ingrained in the Celt. Not a breath of the controversies associated with the names of Wyclif, Hus, Giordano Bruno, Erasmus and Luther had ever penetrated the veil of the Irish language or stirred the Irish intellect. The Reformers' idea of the purification of religion from the elements of magic seemed to the Irish the pure negation of all religion whatever, and though many of the higher and the lower ranks of the clergy con-

formed under the iron hand of the great Queen, the mass of the people began to turn to the Roman Church. Some Jesuits landed in 1540, and in 1560 the enthusiastic David Wolfe arrived. His zeal was such that he roused the priests and the people alike to a sense of their duty to his Church. Like St. Patrick, he paid particular attention to the chiefs, and he enlisted not a few of them on his side.

Paul III had excommunicated Henry VIII in 1538, and now Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth in 1570. Silken Thomas had nominally employed religion on behalf of his cause, but from 1570 onwards religion must be added to the matters that embittered all the contests in the country. At first the Government little grasped the true inwardness of events. The Bull of 1538 did not count simply because the people were not behind it. The Bull of 1570 counted simply because the people were beginning to be behind it. They listened to the ministrations of the dauntless bands of friars who traversed the land, teaching with one breath hatred of England, hatred of the English law, and hatred of the English faith. To counteract this propaganda the Government had the supreme folly of ordaining that schoolmasters and clergy should be drawn solely from those who were English by birth or adoption, which usually meant that they were wholly incapable of giving instruction in the language of the inhabitants.

Henry had claimed to be the supreme head, on earth, of the Church of Ireland, but Elizabeth was content to style herself supreme governor. Up to 1570 her policy was emphatically one of toleration. There was not a single Penal Law on the Statute Book. A Roman Catholic might be a doctor, a lawyer, a schoolmaster, and indeed might hold any position in the State. The Act of Uniformity, passed in 1549, nominally still remained in existence. By this measure all ministers of religion were to use the Book of Common Prayer on penalty of forfeiture of stipend and six months' imprisonment, with severer punishments for second and third offences. In point of fact neither the Act of Uniformity nor the oath of supremacy was enforced. In spite of the work David Wolfe and other Jesuits were carrying out, there was no enactment passed against this order in the sixteenth century. The Bull of Deposition of 1570, however, effected a great change. There begins then the line of demarcation drawn between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant. But even after that date if a priest took no part in treasonable plots he still was allowed

to celebrate mass as usual. The Queen permitted his flock to hold office as mayors, sheriffs, magistrates and officers and soldiers, and many of them filled these offices.

The Bull of 1570, like that of 1538, was practically a licence and indeed an exhortation to kill the Queen in the open or in secret. The assassin was not forthcoming, and inevitably the Pope stirred up the greatest sovereign of the time, Philip II of Spain, to enforce the deposition of Elizabeth. St. Patrick linked up our Church with that of Europe, the Normans linked up our island with the sister-island, and it was reserved for the contest with Philip II of Spain to bring us into intimate relations with the international complications of the Continent. On four occasions have we been part and parcel of international wars. The first was the contest with Philip II of Spain, the second was the contest with Louis XIV of France, the third with Napoleon of France, and the fourth with William II of Prussia.

When every other State in Europe was enfeebled by dissensions at home and by distractions abroad, Philip II commanded an empire that might challenge comparison with the old Roman Empire. Lands of which the Cæsars never dreamed poured their treasure into his coffers. Thanks to Columbus, the wealth of the New World was his. In Europe were not the looms of Flanders, the trade of Holland, the produce of Lombardy and the patriotism of Spain all at his behest? Were not his soldiers the finest on the Continent? Was not his fleet the finest in the world? Nor was his strength confined to the world of fact. The world of faith was his also. He was the devoted son of the Church, resolved to extend its sway both in the New World and the Old. Were not the sharp eyes and the sharper tortures of the Inquisition watching jealously any wanderings from the path of orthodoxy? The fervour of his subjects was both patriotic and spiritual. Who or what could resist such an unusual combination? As he meditated on the future in his Palace of the Escorial, the whole world seemed to be within his grasp. Besides, his was, must be, the winning cause. The Reformation was a spent force. It had vanished in Poland, it was torn asunder in Germany and Switzerland. France would have none of it. England, and England alone, was the one country where the might of the Counter-Reformation had not yet overcome the Reformation. It was reserved for the proud monarch of Spain to restore those straying islanders to the fold of his Church. In the past the faith of the Moors of Spain had gone down before him,



and in the future, the near future, the faith of the Church of England would also go down before his resources.

What was the strength of England ? It was simply an island with a population of less than four millions. Besides, was not a growing number of the Irish on his side ? True, there were less than a million inhabitants in Ireland. Still, the King felt certain that—

“He who would England win,  
In Ireland must begin.”

His spies could cover “that utmost corner of the West,” and they could ascertain what chieftains were discontented. Ulster, Philip heard, lay still aloof from the rest of the island. Was it not possible to stir up trouble in that province ?

It was indeed possible to stir up trouble in the north. Conn O'Neill, who had attended Henry VIII's Parliament and was created Earl of Tyrone, had, as he supposed, an illegitimate son Matthew whom he adopted as his heir, and whom, in compliance with Conn's desire, the Government created Baron Dungannon, recognising him heir to the earldom. The Earl's eldest legitimate son, Shane, surnamed the Proud, when he came of age, claimed the succession against Matthew, who was not only an illegitimate son but about whom it seems extremely doubtful if he had any O'Neill blood at all. The English secured the person of the Earl, who had come to favour Shane. The latter rose in rebellion in 1551, that being the time-honoured method of protest. Shane, a leader of lawless temper but of quite extraordinary ability, defeated ignominiously every attempt to reduce him to submission. His subsequent career was one of the strangest in Irish history. He fought with the O'Donnells of Tyrconnell in the hope of making himself King of all Ulster, and in this aim he was ultimately successful, though heavily defeated at first by that valiant clan. He had his reputed brother and rival Matthew murdered ; he kept the English at a distance partly by force of arms, partly by wily diplomacy ; he carried off an O'Donnell chieftain named Calvagh and his wife, released Calvagh, but kept the lady in addition to his own wife, who was in fact sister to Calvagh, and who died of grief and shame at this event.

The Lord Lieutenant, Sussex, after repeated failure in the field, with Elizabeth's knowledge tried to have him assassinated. At last Elizabeth personally invited him to come to court and



have his grievances inquired into, which he accordingly did under safe-conduct, presenting himself at the head of a troop of Irish gallowlasses clad in saffron tunics with shaggy cloaks, to the wonderment of the Elizabethan courtiers. Shane the Proud played so skilfully on Elizabeth's foibles that she ultimately sent him back as Lord Tyrone. This conclusion was facilitated by the fact that another O'Neill had meanwhile killed the young son of Matthew, who had succeeded to the barony of Dungannon and who was heir to the Tyrone earldom.

When Shane O'Neill arrived home among his own people, he abjured at once the conditions he had been forced to make, declaring that he would keep no faith with the English, as they had deceived him in the matter of the safe-conduct, which gave him freedom "to come and go," but never said *where* he might go. He protested that he was kept in London "till I had agreed to things so far against my honour and profit that I would never perform them while I live." These conditions were mainly directed towards compelling him to keep to his own territory of Tyrone, to wage no further war without the authority of the Government, to reduce to obedience certain disaffected clans in the neighbourhood, and to dismiss a body of mercenaries raised from the Scots settlers in the glens of Antrim. In London he had been in communication with the Spanish Ambassador, and he ascertained facts with an important bearing on his policy for the future. The resources of Philip II were unlimited, while it seemed to him that those of England were limited, strictly limited. The revenue of Ireland was only eleven thousand pounds, while the expenditure of the Government in peaceful days was three thousand. An army of fifteen hundred men cost eighteen thousand a year. Even in times of profound peace this small army must be supported. In days of war, Shane O'Neill calculated, the expenses of a war against him might be—and were as a matter of fact—forty thousand a year. How long could the English afford to spend this sum? How could they defeat him—if Philip simultaneously attacked them?

Shane O'Neill's first exploit on reaching home was to assault and destroy the Maguires of Fermanagh, who had stood by the English in the previous wars. Sussex, having again failed either to bring him to reason by arms or capture him by treachery, was ordered by the Queen to abandon the struggle and concede to O'Neill not only the use of his Irish title but all the powers and jurisdiction exercised by his predecessor. In 1565 Sir Henry Sydney was appointed Deputy, and it was

now his turn to deal with the indomitable Shane. This he compassed by raising the surrounding tribes against him—it was the declared object of Shane to conquer all Ulster—and after a great defeat at the hands of the O'Donnells on the river Swilly, he was murdered at Cushendun in 1567 by the Antrim Scots on whom he had made an unprovoked assault, killing seven hundred of them, two years before. His head was sent to Dublin and spiked above the Castle gates. He was only forty years of age at the close of his crowded life. It is noted that his administration of his territory was far better than that of the ordinary chieftain: plunder and disorder were severely put down, trade was encouraged and tillage prospered. Sydney reports that Tyrone “was so well inhabited as no Irish county in the realm was like it.” Shane had made good his claim to be lord of Tyrone, and had won the ear of Elizabeth. But for his insane ambition, arrogance and turbulence he might have been the means of bringing about a better understanding between the two nations so miserably bound to each other in chains which galled each of them, but which once locked could never be undone.

The spies of Spain and the entreaties of Gregory XIII stirred up Sir James Fitzmaurice to revolt, and with these motives was combined his desire to succour the Geraldines. In a far more real sense than Silken Thomas, Fitzmaurice alleged that his faith was another motive, and it is to him that we can trace, for the first time, in Irish history the addition of religion as a cause of war. Nicholas Sanders proclaimed that this was a holy war in defence of Roman Catholicism. The cause of this revolt was largely tribal feeling, but one result of it undoubtedly was that religion was left as a motive permanently at work in the embitterment of all future contests. Philip II of Spain left his mark in the Low Countries, and he no less surely left his mark in Ireland.

Sydney himself had gone to the seat of the revolt, the districts of Thomond and Desmond, “and there I heard such lamentable cries and complaints made by the remain of poor people which are left yet, who hardly escaping the sword and fire of their outrageous neighbours, or the famine which their extortionate lords have driven them unto either by taking their goods from them or by spending the same by their extortion taking of coyne and livery, make demonstration of the miserable estate of that country.” The plans of Philip and Mary in the Plantation of Leix and Offaly in 1556 were, it was judged, the best method to meet the prevailing disorder in the south.

Accordingly from 1584 to 1589 the Plantation of Munster was carried out. Undertakers were given districts of 12,000, 8,000, 6,000 and 4,000 acres each, and they were to plant their estates with settlers. For the most part the settlers never came, and the natives remained in possession. A few—for example, Sir Walter Raleigh and Edmund Spenser—did arrive, but they preferred to exercise the wings of their genius on other and wider flights than the occupation of their Irish possessions.

By an Act passed in the eleventh year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Ulster was declared to be “the most perilous place in all the isle.” This statement was to be verified in the career of Hugh O'Neill, son of Matthew O'Neill. He had been educated at the Court of the Queen, and he steadily improved the natural abilities with which he was endowed. He noted the improvements the English had carried out in the art of warfare, and on his return to Ireland he ceased to employ the Irish axe and bow and Irish drill, and employed in their place the English pike and musket and English drill. In 1587 Elizabeth revived the earldom of Tyrone in his favour, but in spite of this revival he felt the growing authority of the Crown. The fort of Portmore commanded the ford which gave easy access from Armagh to Tyrone, and its position acted as a real check on the power of Lord Tyrone. Was he indeed a lord if stone walls controlled his movements?

On the death of his first cousin, Turlough Linnagh, he became The O'Neill in 1593, and henceforth, like Shane O'Neill, his thoughts turned more decidedly towards his position as a chieftain of an ancient Irish family. The truth was that in view of the strong Government now in Dublin, he could be either an Irish nobleman or an English one, but he could not be—or rather, he could not remain—both. His country of Tyrone was to be reduced to shire ground, and he was to witness the spectacle of a sheriff enforcing English law instead of his Brehon law, which meant—in his case—his own will. He well knew what the shiring of England meant in the task of unifying the country, and in fact it achieved for England what the breaking-up of the French provinces into departments was one day to achieve for the unity of revolutionary France. It was a serious prospect for The O'Neill. He deliberately chose the Irish ideal, not the English. It was a choice fatal for him: for the Tudors were content with the substance of power, whilst The O'Neill pursued its shadow.

Unlike Shane O'Neill, he set to work to gather the chieftains of Ulster to his side. Like Shane O'Neill, he trusted to the



might of Spain. Did not Philip II perceive how much a war would strain the existing resources of England? Did he not perceive the time was ripe to avenge the loss of the Armada of 1588? So Lord Tyrone thought, so he reckoned. Unlike Shane O'Neill, his aim was not to fight the foe in the open field—till the invincible Spanish soldiers arrived. In the meantime he would be another Fabius. The Armada of 1596 set sail with bright hopes of success. But the disastrous storm off Cape Finisterre decided the issue. The Armada of 1588 was beaten by superior seamanship; that of 1596 was beaten by the winds and the waves of Heaven. Had the large army which the Adelantado fleet was conveying landed, had they been joined by the Irish under Tyrone, the situation would have been as serious as it was when Hoche tried to land in Bantry Bay.

"Lady Mora" was the code word which Strafford and Laud employed in their correspondence when they described the dull weight of resistance they encountered in the pursuit of their plan of "Thorough." But "Lady Mora" is also a lady of delay, and in this sense Lord Tyrone worshipped at her shrine. He hoped against hope that the Spanish soldiers would eventually come, and in the meantime he invested the fort of Portmore. Sir Henry Bagenal was despatched to the relief of the besieged. Tyrone met him at Yellow Ford on August 14, 1598, when the Irish leader won a resounding success, but a success of which he was utterly unable to make a decisive use. He still thought more, far more, of supremacy in Ulster than supremacy in Ireland. He still thought more, far more, of vengeance over chiefs of Ulster than of resistance to the enfeebled Government.

The hopes in Philip's breast once more beat high. Troops this valiant Irishman must have. The hopes in Elizabeth's breast beat accordingly low. Troops, she felt, must forthwith be sent to the north. She summoned her favourite, the Earl of Essex, and, commanding him to fight with neither great nor small save only with Lord Tyrone, she gave him 17,000 men. The O'Neill had over 20,000 men with the promise of Spanish reinforcements. Essex disobeyed his instructions, peremptory as they were. Instead of setting out for Ulster, he dissipated his strength in attacking the Geraldines in the south. At last he went north, but he went north with an army insufficient to oppose so capable a commander as The O'Neill. He was compelled to sign a truce so disgraceful that he was unable to reveal its terms.



Lord Mountjoy, the Viceroy, was in a state of despair. Fortunately for the Government, The O'Neill refused to make a decisive attack when it was well within his power. His devotion to "Lady Mora" proved the salvation of the English. When the Spanish came he would do or die, but till they came Fabius was his model. He was not the model chosen by the relentless Mountjoy, who resolved to push north. His aim was to stir up the chieftains in the rear of O'Neill so that he might be between the fire of the English coming in front and the Irish coming behind. The tragedy for Tyrone was that he was a captain, not a general; a party-leader, not a statesman. This he found to his cost when he saw the encircling strategy Mountjoy was determined at all costs to execute. It was the turn of Tyrone to fall into a state of despair, and in 1600 he thought of flight from Ireland.

If the Spaniards landed in the north, even in county Sligo, the Irish leader might effect a union with them. For it is a singular fact that practically all the invasions of Ireland in the past have taken place in the south and west.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately for the expectations of Tyrone, when the Spaniards at last arrived under the impatient Don Juan d'Aquila, they landed in Kinsale on September 23, 1601, and they landed with only some three or four thousand men. In spite of the wastage of the Irish forces, Tyrone came to the bold determination to march down to Kinsale. By sea and land the English encompassed the town. Tyrone pressed onwards in order to join the Spaniards. O'Donnell overruled him, and it was resolved that the Spaniards and the Irish should simultaneously attack the besiegers. A traitor in the Irish camp, Brian MacMahon, betrayed his side, and the attack quite failed. The outcome was that Don Juan d'Aquila surrendered in January 1602, and with his surrender the last flicker of hope in the heart of Tyrone died out. It was the deathblow to the power of the native chieftain. "I will endeavour for myself," the Irish leader declared, "and the people of my country, to erect civil habitations, and such as shall be of greater effect, to preserve us against thieves and any force but the power of the State." From 1494 to 1603 the State had been fighting for bare life in the contest with the chief, and the State had at last decisively won.

<sup>1</sup> When the Germans were helping the Sinn Féiners in the rebellion of 1916, the *Libau* was to touch near Tralee Bay.

The Renaissance came late to England and very late to Ireland. It is therefore noteworthy that the University of Dublin was founded in 1591. The first student on the roll of Trinity College was James Ussher, one of the greatest scholars this Elizabethan foundation ever possessed. Its three greatest names are George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, a distinguished metaphysician, Edmund Burke, the eminent political philosopher, and Sir William Rowan Hamilton, a mathematician of the highest genius. Of much lesser rank are Increase Mather, who ruled a theocracy in the New World, and John Winthrop the younger, who fought strenuously for a charter of liberty for his colony of Connecticut. A name like Mather's sufficiently indicates the Puritan atmosphere which is characteristic of Trinity College in its beginning. This atmosphere is still to be felt in the Evangelical theology which is so evident in the Church of Ireland to this day.

# IRELAND

in the middle of the  
XVI<sup>th</sup> CENTURY

Natural Scale 1:3,300,000

English Miles

0 10 20 30 40







## CHAPTER VI

### THE ULSTER PLANTATION

WHEN did the Middle Ages end in England? There is much to be said for the date 1492. In Ireland, however, it is necessary to travel another hundred years before the Middle Ages terminate. In fact, the beginning of the reign of the first Stewart is a better date to select.

There was little religious persecution. The penalties for recusancy, imposed on the Roman Catholics, were not enforced. The first Irish Parliament of James I, which met in 1613, was thoroughly representative of the whole country. The King doubled the number of the boroughs, and there were now ninety. Out of 232 members there were 101 Roman Catholic. As a matter of fact, members of this communion regularly sat in Parliament down to the days of the Revolution of 1688. That the Crown at last felt secure is evident from the fact that the Statute of Kilkenny was repealed. There was no longer any need to fear the Irish, and therefore this measure was useless. There was Common Law in England, and there was now to be Common Law in Ireland. The King's Bench declared the customs of tanistry and gavelkind to be void, and with this declaration the Brehon Law passed away. As we have seen above (p. 46), the custom of tanistry had been devised to provide the chief with a successor or tanist in his lifetime in order to avoid fighting for the chieftainship when it became vacant, but it proved to be a most prolific cause of contest. By the custom of gavelkind the lands of the tribe were regularly divided equally among its members on the death of every tribesman. Both customs had long outlived their usefulness, and when the King's Bench abolished them it abolished what ought to have been abolished long ago. The territorial divisions of counties and baronies were extended to the districts that still required them. Sheriffs were appointed throughout Ulster, and the judges of assize went their circuits everywhere. The King's writ ran through the length and the breadth of the land. The Normans had brought

in a Pax Normannica which prevailed in the eastern half of Ireland; the Stewarts brought in a Pax Britannica which prevailed in the western as well as in the eastern half.

It is easy to understand that the Earl of Tyrone watched anxiously the steady and relentless way in which the Crown was extending its jurisdiction. Was there room for him in the new régime? He levied some of the exactions he used to demand in the heyday of his power. To his astonishment his former allies reminded him that they were now the "King's freemen, and not his slaves." The more he pondered, the more he wondered if he could remain. When Mountjoy was pressing him in 1600 he meditated flight, and in 1607 he carried out his purpose. With the Earl of Tyrconnel and a hundred souls he fled to the Continent, dying in 1616.

On the flight of the Earls the Crown confiscated their territory of over three million acres in the counties of Londonderry, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Donegal, Cavan and Armagh. Ulster was in 1607 easily the most backward province in the country. Take one piece of evidence relating to the county Fermanagh. In a letter to the Earl of Salisbury, written during the first circuit ever held in Fermanagh, Sir John Davies mentions that "the fixing of a site for a jail and sessions-house had been delayed until my Lord Deputy had resolved on a fit place for a market and corporate town; for the habitations of this people are so wild and transitory, as there is not one fixed village in all this country." Fynes Moryson describes their dwellings as made of wattles or boughs, covered with long turves or sods of grass, which they could readily remove and put up as they wandered from place to place in search of pasture, following their vast herds of cattle with their wives and children, removing constantly to fresh lands as they depastured others, and living chiefly on the milk of their cows. North and west of Lough Neagh, it seems that the whole population was formed of *creaghts* (or nomads), living this wild and wandering life.

This backwardness was due in no scanty measure to the aloofness of Ulster from the rest of Ireland. This aloofness is as evident before the Reformation as after it. Take the "Táin Bó Cúalnge," the oldest of Irish sagas, in which we meet the Piets and the Fomorians, the Saxons and the Norsemen. The Táin was written to record the assault of the other four provinces on Ulster. To them Ulster, or rather the north-eastern portion of it, is "the unknown province." The difference was racial long before it was religious, though naturally the re-

ligious difference accentuated the existing racial one. Not only was it racial, but it was also geographical. If a proof is required that environment is more important than heredity, Ulster affords it. A careful study of an ancient map will show this. For it is evident that geographical hindrances cut the northern province off from the rest of the country. These hindrances were partly natural, partly artificial. On the western border of Ulster the waters of Lough Erne form a defence as complete as that of the Few Mountains on the eastern border. The centre of the border-line was protected by the low wooded hills and the perfect network of bogs and lakes which we find in the counties of Monaghan and Cavan. The hindrances were also artificial. For there is evidence of entrenchments which can be traced from the Newry Valley along the southern borders of the counties of Armagh and Monaghan. In addition to these entrenchments, there are fragmentary portions still extant in the counties of Cavan, Longford and Leitrim. These furnish the alignments of the Black Pig's Dyke. As the Romans by their wall tried to keep the Scots outside, so the Ulstermen by their Dyke tried to keep the inhabitants of the other four provinces outside their coasts. The natural obstacles were, however, vastly more efficacious than the artificial. Take one proof. There was really only one road leading from the north to the south, that by Carrickmacross in the Barony of Farney. This pass was the Belfort of Ulster, and was naturally called "The Gap of the North."

With such excellent natural defences the O'Neills saw no necessity for building castles or for altering the pastoral customs of their tribesmen. Conn O'Neill cursed all his posterity in case they learned the English language, sowed wheat or built them houses. Speed, in his *Theatre of the Empire* (ch. 24), explains Conn's reasons: "Lest the first should breed conversation, the second commerce of sustenance, and with the last they should speed as the crow that buildeth her nest to be beaten out by the hawk." It is clear, then, that the old form of society did not perish at a remote epoch. Had it done so, the Irishman of to-day would care no more for it than a French mancares for Celtic Gaul or an Englishman for Anglo-Saxon England. There is a tendency on the part of descendants to differ from their progenitor, but the O'Neills discouraged variation from the original type. In spite of their efforts, the variation came with the Ulster Plantation of 1608.

There had been plantations in the past, those of Leix and



Offaly in 1556 and of Munster from 1584 to 1589, but they had both been failures, largely because large estates had been given to a few owners. Upon the area of over half a million acres which were "planted" in Ulster, the Crown determined to reverse that policy. Now small estates were given to many owners. There was another difference. In the two sixteenth-century plantations there was no inquiry into the religion of the settler. Now the settlers were English and Scots Protestants, mainly labourers, weavers, mechanics, farmers and merchants, the very classes most required to civilise the northern province. They built fixed habitations, and their houses and castles soon dotted the landscape. Their churches and school-houses, their watermills and their handlooms, within a generation raised their heads on all sides. The Ulsterman, with his strong business instincts, his tenacity of purpose, his dependence on himself, his energy and his enterprise, emerges to the permanent benefit of the northern province.

What was the cause of this sudden and lasting prosperity? The past history of the north furnishes one reason. But it is certain that another arises from the security of tenure which the Plantation bestowed. For the landlords were in every instance to grant "fixed estates" to their tenants; otherwise their own properties were in danger of forfeiture and sequestration at the royal discretion. Out of these "fixed estates" sprang that custom of tenant-right which has fundamentally affected the Ulsterman. By it one tenant may sell his farm to another, to hold from the landlord, at the same rent. It took time to establish this custom, but established it was. The outcome was that intimacy of understanding between the different classes of the community which is to be found in Ulster, and only in Ulster. In the north landlord and tenant, manufacturer and artisan, agree both in politics and in religion. The contrast with the rest of Ireland is painful. Take another contrast. Even at the end of the nineteenth century the other three provinces were struggling for the "three F's," that is, for fair rent, fixity of tenure, and free sale. In Ulster, however, the men of the Plantation secured their enjoyment of two of them at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The north enjoyed security for the fruits of its labour, while the rest of the country enjoyed nothing of the kind.

The new settlers consisted in large part of Scotsmen with such names as Agnew and Adair, Calderwood and Cunningham, Hamilton and Murray, Maxwell and Montgomery. Of course it must be remembered that the name Scotland derives its



origin from the Scoti, an Irish tribe which settled there. The settlers now were, however, not Gaelic Scots who might have coalesced with their kindred Celts, but rural people from the Lowlands. The phrase "the inward parts of Scotland" occurs repeatedly. It was used to exclude the men of the western islands. No more of these Celts were wanted, for there were plenty of that race already in the north of Antrim. Sir Arthur Chichester, as is obvious from his reports, was favourably impressed with the work of the men of the Lowlands. "The Scottishmen come," he notes, "with greater port, and better accompanied and attended, but, it may be, with less money in their purses." A few are unsatisfactory, but the majority have taken a crop from the ground. The stock of cattle is precisely given.

Another report says: "The Earl of Abercorn, chief undertaker in the precinct in the county of Tyrone, has taken possession, resident with lady and family, and built for the present near the town of Strabane some large timber houses, with a court 116 foot in length and 87 foot in breadth . . . has built a great brew-house without his court. . . . His followers and tenants have, since May last, built 28 houses of fair coples; and before May by his tenants, who are all Scottishmen, the number of 32 houses of like goodness. . . . There are 120 cows in stock for his own use."

The isolation of the north, combined with the policy of the chieftain, formed the first step in the evolution of the Ulsterman. But it was unquestionably the end of the antiquated system of land-tenure that enabled him to pass so swiftly from childhood to manhood. Within a generation this new settlement effectually separated the natives from the conquerors and kept them apart. The scheme of 1608 planted a new race in the northern province which never coalesced with the inhabitants. There they have been in continual contact for over three centuries, and they are still as distinct as if an ocean rolled between them.

All former schemes of colonisation failed because the settlers became rapidly assimilated to the character, the manners and the faith of the Irish. In the crucible of history the English have been fused into intimate union with the native stock, and have become "*Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*." The Scots settlement, however, ended the amalgamation of the races. Difference of tradition, difference of creed and the sundering effect of the Penal Laws proved an effective barrier to intercourse. The new race, like the old, felt the fascination of

their new home and became deeply attached to it. They were Ulstermen, but they were also Irishmen. The late Dr. R. R. Kane, the Grand Master of the Orangemen, was a typical Ulsterman, and he maintained that he never could forget that he was also an O'Cahan. At the same time it must be remembered that the settlers possessed long memories. The writer has met some of their descendants whose Presbyterian traditions lead them still to look back to Scotland as their home and to disclaim all alliance with the Celtic part of the north. The Roman Catholic Irish they refer to as "those Irish," or, to use their own vernacular, "thae Eerish." The O'Neills pursued the policy of repressing variation from their original type; their successors paid them the compliment of following in their steps.

The north-east corner of Ireland has produced men in the front rank out of all proportion to her numbers. In the ranks of judges there stand Lord Cairns, the greatest judge of the Victorian era and probably of the nineteenth century, and Lord Macnaghten. Among soldiers there are such men as John Nicholson, the Bayard of India, and Sir George White. Among ambassadors and statesmen there stand the Cannings of English and Indian fame, Lord Dorchester of Canada, a proconsul in the same rank as Robert Clive and Warren Hastings, Lord Castlereagh, Sir R. Hart, Lord Bryce, Lord Dufferin and the great figure of Lord Lawrence, who more than any other single man saved India in the crisis of the Mutiny of 1857. Among metaphysicians there are such men as Francis Hutcheson and William James, and among writers the Brontës, William Hazlitt and Sir Samuel Ferguson, the real precursor of the Celtic Revival. Among scientists there stand Sir Hans Sloane, the founder of the British Museum, Joseph Black, the discoverer of carbon dioxide, and Lord Kelvin, the Napoleon of science in the nineteenth century.

It is a long bead-roll and might easily have been longer had we not excluded the names of living men. How do we account for this roll of honour? Undoubtedly one reason lies, to borrow a biological term, in the contact and the cross-fertilisation of cultures. When a backward race is in contact with a somewhat more forward one, one fructifies the other and a higher civilisation results. It is, then, possible that the crossing of two cultures in the minds of extremely able people may initiate a superior civilisation. One condition is that the two races, brought into contact, must have ideals capable of approximation, thus securing that open-mindedness which is

essential to progress ; otherwise there is apt to be prejudice. In the past there are striking examples of this cross-fertilisation in the meeting of East and West giving rise to neo-Platonism, in the meeting of Greek science and Arabic skill influencing the thirteenth century so profoundly, and in the meeting of Christian tradition and classical learning producing the Renaissance. The ascendancy of Italian literature over the Elizabethan age is obvious. The outstanding instance of our theory in Ireland is the Ulster Plantation of 1608.

In the severe school of adversity the character of the Ulsterman was shaped. He felt the heavy hand of Strafford, the Richelieu of Ireland, who loved Presbyterianism as little as his colleague, Archbishop Laud. The imperious nature of Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, overrode all opposition. Parliaments or juries existed to register his decrees. "I know, then, no reason," he wrote to Laud in 1632 when he had been a few months in Ireland, "but you may rule the common lawyers of England as I, poor beagle, do here ; and yet that I do, and will do, in all that concerns my master's service, at the peril of my head. I am confident that the King, being pleased to set himself in the business, is able by his wisdom and ministers to carry any just and honourable action through all imaginary opposition, for real there can be none ; that to start aside for such panic fears as a Prynne or an Eliot shall set up, were the meanest folly in the whole world ; that the debts of the Crown taken off, you may govern as you please." He himself governed in the spirit of this letter. He reduced the Privy Council to complete subjection, refusing it permission to discuss the King's policy—which of course was his. Nor was his attitude a whit different to the Roman Catholic nobility, for he declined to furnish them with any information on the plans of the Crown.

True, Wentworth possessed a vast fund of information, and he was actuated by a sincere desire to benefit the people to whom Charles I sent him. Careful of the fine intentions he nursed in his breast, he was careless of public approval of them. "There is one man wiser than any in France," held Talleyrand, "and that is all France." There were men—a few, no doubt—who could have guided Strafford, but he disdained guidance. The mass of the inhabitants were blind to their true interests, and it was his mission to enlighten them. There were pirates all round the coast, notably pirates from Algiers, and what Irishman proposed to put them down ? Strafford dealt with them, and they were put down. The



immediate effect on commerce can well be imagined. The tonnage of shipping increased an hundredfold, and exports were double the value of imports. Henry VIII had encouraged the woollen trade, but he discouraged it, and it fell away. On the other hand, he was most anxious to encourage the linen trade. Thanks to his enterprise, flax-seed came from Holland and skilled weavers from Flanders. Out of his own pocket he advanced money in order to manufacture iron ordnance. He gave much thought to the project of opening commercial intercourse with Spain.

Trade then, however, occupied a low position in the wealth of Ireland compared with land, and there was a land question to be solved. James I had put an end to feudal tenure, insisting that the Irish should surrender their estates to the Crown in order to receive them back by a legal tenure. The officials of the Court of Chancery had neglected to enrol some of these grants. With the example of the Ulster Plantation in their mind, some officials thought that there should be a Plantation in Connaught. The proprietors protested, and in 1628 Charles I agreed to receive £120,000 in three years by equal payments in return for Graces which he was to offer. These Graces were to give the people of Connaught power to enrol their land, to relieve Ulstermen who were in the same plight, and to secure the owner's title to his lands against the Crown after sixty years' possession. The King received his £120,000, and was to summon Parliament to confirm the Graces. But he left Parliament unsummoned and the Graces therefore unconfirmed.

The different parties in the Parliament of 1634 were so equal that Strafford was enabled to do what he pleased. He allowed some of the Graces to remain unconfirmed, and yet he raised no less than £270,000 in subsidies. By a mixture of cajolery and firmness he bore down all opposition. Men like the Earl of Cork, Loftus, St. Albans and Mountnorris found that they had neither part nor lot in the management of the country. Strafford was able to manage Parliament, and hence he dispensed with their services. He was indeed an administrator who claims rank with our great Indian proconsuls. As Hastings crushed Nuncomar and Francis, so he crushed Mountnorris and Loftus. What was the use of a jury system when the English did scant justice to the Irish and when the Irish did just as scant justice to each other? He himself was able to redress grievances, and undoubtedly his strong Castle Chamber performed some of the finer functions performed by the Star



Chamber. There was no room for his policy of "Thorough" in England, except perhaps to some degree in his Council of the North. There was much room for it in Ireland.

The Irish Parliament was under his control. The next matter was to see after the army. Its numbers were only 2,400, and he increased it to a thousand horse and eight thousand foot, the majority of the soldiers being naturally Roman Catholics. In his Parliament of 1640 the members of this body were in a majority. They voted him £180,000, and they granted him an increase in his army, which possessed eight heavy guns and twelve field-pieces. Behind all the changes and chances occurring to his plans in Dublin, he never forgot Westminster, and Westminster never forgot him. Pym watched the success of his enemy with growing anxiety. Suppose, the great Puritan leader thought, the English Parliament as subservient as the Irish? Suppose, he also thought, the Irish army came to England? The possibilities were decidedly ominous. Strafford believed in the plan of *divide et impera*, and the division over the passing of the Grand Remonstrance was to show how useful was, to employ Strafford's own words, the policy of balancing the one party by the other. Its merits in Dublin were conspicuous. So long as the fear of the Deputy's displeasure was upon them, neither Roman Catholics nor Protestants, facing each other like muzzled dogs, would, as he maliciously remarked, allow the other side to rob them of the merit of loyalty.

The great Deputy returned to England, and the moment he left the land he had ruled with a strong hand Parliament set to work to compile a Remonstrance of Grievances. It is noteworthy that in its sixteen articles no religious grievance is mentioned. In the hands of Pym it was possible to draw many deductions from this Remonstrance. Strafford, he maintained, had said that Ireland was a conquered country, and the King could do what he pleased with the inhabitants thereof. In order to execute his tyrannical purposes he had allied himself with the Irish, and had raised an army consisting of nine thousand men, for the most part Roman Catholics. Obviously this army, large for those days, was, on Strafford's advice, to be employed against the English subjects of the King. Of all the charges preferred against Strafford, the Irish ones were easily the most serious.

If there is any proof required that Strafford was determined to support the cause of absolutism, Ireland affords it. He held that the Protestant interest was the true interest of the

country, and yet, holding this belief, he tried, in October 1640, to rouse the Irish House of Commons against the Ulster Plantation, to persuade the majority of Roman Catholic members to revive the ardour of their co-religionists in the army against the Ulstermen. He was as willing as Lauzun and Louis XIV to bind racial and religious motives into one. James II refused to carry out at the siege of Derry what Strafford was willing to carry out. The latter now perceived that the Scots were his enemy, and he was eager to try any method of crushing them.

The outstanding drawback of the cause of despotism is that there is no possibility of ensuring a successor to the despot. Commodus followed Marcus Aurelius. So it proved in Dublin. The strength of Strafford was the weakness of the two lords justices, Sir John Borlase and Sir William Parsons. In October 1641 the disastrous Rebellion broke out. Its causes are in no wise mysterious. The nobility had lost their old position of influence through the policy of Strafford, and they were anxious to regain it. There was discontent on the part of owners because the grievances mentioned in the Graces still existed. There was a dread of the Irish Parliament because it had not confirmed the Graces, and there was a dread of the English Parliament too. The tribesmen in Ulster had lost their farms and those in Connaught were afraid that they might share the same fate. The old influence of Spain and the new influence of France were at work. True, the Spanish army no longer enjoyed the prestige of the days of Philip II. On the other hand, the French army had succeeded to its pride of prestige. Was not Cardinal Richelieu the active friend of the Irish? And, indeed, it was no slight misfortune for them that he passed away in December 1642.

These are the particular causes of the Rebellion of 1641. Yet we must bear in mind that there was a reaction against royalty all over Europe during the second quarter of the seventeenth century, just as there was during the last quarter of the fourteenth. The Eighty Years' War had left Spain in a poor position. Holland and Catalonia had torn themselves away from her. The Thirty Years' War so drained the blood of the Holy Roman Empire that it never quite recovered. True, the smaller States of Germany were more independent, but their heads possessed less real power. Just as the United Provinces got rid of Royalty, so Sweden got rid of the capable and careless Queen Christina, the strange daughter of Gustavus Adolphus. The power of the Papacy had been Hildebrandine,

whereas now it was simply that of the restricted authority of Alexander VII. In France the Fronde showed the new—yet old—place to which the nobility aspired. In England there was the contest between Cavalier and Roundhead. In Scotland the Scots were fighting Charles I, and their example fired the Irish.

Roger O'More, who had lost his Leix property, was the man who planned the plot. With him were such men as Lord Maguire, Phelim O'Neill, Turlough O'Neill, Philip O'Reilly and Hugh MacMahon. The magic of names like these was enough to secure followers. Roger O'More proposed the same plan as that of Silken Thomas, namely, the seizure of Dublin Castle. As Brian MacMahon betrayed Hugh O'Neill, so now Owen O'Connolly betrayed Roger O'More at the eleventh hour. The night of October 21, 1641, was the time fixed for the outbreak. The fury of the rising was most felt in Ulster, where Charlemont, Dungannon and Newry fell into the hands of the insurgents. Cruelty and bloodshed burst over the north. How many were massacred it is impossible to state. From a careful examination of the Depositions, preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, it is clear that out of a total population of less than a million and a half almost ten thousand were, directly and indirectly, done to death. In these days we have telephones and telegraphs, and, in spite of the harm they have often done, it is certain that had they existed in 1641 they would have rendered inestimable benefit to the Irish. Rumours of the massacre spread to England, and the rumours lost nothing in the telling. It suited the Puritans to magnify the number of the dead, for the greater the number the greater the guilt of Charles I. The fictions of history are at least as important as the facts of history, particularly during the seventeenth century. In spite, however, of the fictions there was enough fact behind them to make the English realise that when the cause of Charles I was the cause of the Irish Roman Catholics, matters had reached breaking-point.

The grave difficulty of Borlase and Parsons, the lords justices, was their relations with the Roman Catholic peers. They dared neither trust them nor distrust them. They made a show of confidence in them, giving them some arms for the defence of their houses in the country, but they took care forthwith to prorogue Parliament. Soon there were four parties. On the Roman Catholic side there was the old English party, the nobility, who had lost office through deputies like Cork and Strafford, and their leader was Thomas Preston, son



of Viscount Gormanston, who had fought in the Netherlands. There was also the old Irish party, who fought nominally on behalf of Charles I but really for the supremacy of their religion and the restoration of their lands, and their leader was Owen Roe O'Neill, who had gained his military experience fighting on the side of Spain in the Netherlands. As there were two Roman Catholic parties, so there were two Protestant parties. There were the Puritans in the north, who adhered to the side of Pym, and their leader was General Monro, a veteran of the Thirty Years' War: his portrait is Dugald Dalgetty's. There were the Royalists all over the country, who adhered to the side of Charles I, and their leader was he who became Duke of Ormonde, the greatest man who ever bore that honourable title. Nor are these four parties the only ones we have to remember. The English Puritans, the Cavaliers and the Scots were all interested in the Rebellion for reasons of their own. So too were the eyes of that king among men, Richelieu, fastened on us. When men looked again at Christmas 1642, he was gone. Gone in an instant all his far-reaching plans for Europe in general and for Ireland in particular; gone the great peril to the Civil War in Ireland and England. What would have been the chances of settling either had a large French army landed on our shores? Paris was not the only capital where men were thinking about us. For in the distant Vatican was not Urban VIII watching and waiting for his opportunity?

There were four parties, and there were more, much more, than four sets of contests. There were few sieges, but there were skirmishes, which it is absurd to dignify by the name of battles, north, south, east and west. Generals like Ormonde and Owen Roe O'Neill, like Monro and Preston, paid attention to the rules of warfare, but in many districts they were utterly disregarded. The Papal Nuncio, Archbishop Rinuccini, admitted that the northern Irish, though good Roman Catholics, were often great savages; and it is entirely intelligible that there should have been murders committed by them, and that some of them were of a peculiarly atrocious character. The massacre of Portadown embittered the course of the whole war. In that northern town over a hundred men, women and children were drowned or shot. The man most responsible for this horror was Captain Manus O'Cahan. On the other hand, it is pleasant to note that the O'Reillys cared so much for the Protestant Bishop of Kilmore, the saintly Bedell, that they zealously protected him, confining him for his safety in



Cloughoughter Castle, situated in a lonely lough in county Cavan. The imprisonment was too much for the Bishop and he died on February 2, 1642. His last words were: "Be of good cheer; whether we live or die we are the Lord's." O'Reilly buried the body with military honours, and as they laid it in the ground a priest, Edmund Ferrely, exclaimed: "O sit anima mea cum Bedello!"

The Confederation of Kilkenny, which met in May 1642, was set up by the Roman Catholics as a rival legislature to the Irish Parliament. Priests, prelates and laymen composed this notable Confederation, whose chief object was the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion "in as full and ample a manner as the Roman Catholic secular clergy had or enjoyed the same within this realm at any time during the reign of Henry VII." The secular clergy were to enjoy all temporalities "in as large and ample a manner as the late Protestant clergy enjoyed the same on October 1, 1641." Practically this was as much a measure of despoilment as the similar measure passed by the Irish Parliament of James II. The prelates insisted that the war had been justly undertaken for their religion and for the King against sectaries and especially against Puritans. Any province, city or county making separate terms with the enemy, was to be excommunicate. The device on the seal of the Confederation was "Irishmen, unanimous for God, for King, for Country." As Voltaire said that the Holy Roman Empire was neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire, so Irishmen were neither unanimous for God, nor for King, nor for Country. The original unity existing between the old English and the old Irish party turned to schism. Their respective leaders, Preston and O'Neill, were bitter rivals, and their rivalry ruined all prospect of their co-operating. Unlike the Bourbons, the Irish chiefs forgot everything and learnt nothing. They were utterly unable to profit by the painful experience of past intertribal contests. In spite of the desultory character of the war the Confederation was unable to extend its authority save in the south-east and, to a slight degree, in the north-east. If God helps those who help themselves, there was little use in the members of the Confederation begging Urban VIII to ask either France or Spain for troops. They did not help themselves, and help from outside was not forthcoming. There was a plentiful supply of indulgences for the confederates and of excommunications for their opponents—but there was a supply of nothing else.

That great gentleman Ormonde attacked and defeated

Preston with slight loss at the battle of Ross in 1643. During this year the skilful Owen Roe O'Neill was fighting Monro with varying success at Charlemont, Clones and Trim. The Rebellion was a most doubtful boon to Charles I, for he saw instinctively how much it aided the Puritans, who could represent him as the friend of those who were butchering Protestants. The war in La Vendée affords a parallel to this acrid contest and yields an important clue to the understanding of it. There was a Cessation of Arms arranged in September 1643. It was out of the power of Charles I to be straightforward; he was determined to negotiate, and was foolish enough to entrust his negotiations with the Confederation to the foolhardy Earl of Glamorgan. Behind the back of Ormonde the Earl of Glamorgan came to Ireland, and promised in 1645 the Confederation pretty well all it asked short of complete ascendancy. In turn the Confederation promised—on paper—to send the King an army of ten thousand men, armed one-half with pikes and one-half with muskets. As the outcome of the battle of Naseby the details of this Glamorgan treaty came to light, and the Puritans were more incensed against the King and—what turned out to be most serious—against the Roman Catholic Irish than ever. Had not thousands of Protestants been murdered? Was not Charles I privy to a conspiracy to bring over their murderers to be employed against the Puritans in England? So they thought in 1645, and under this belief they acted when in the days to come they triumphed.

In addition to indulgences and excommunications in November 1645, Innocent X despatched Rinuccini as his Nuncio. The scope of the Nuncio's mission was to "restore and re-establish the public exercise of the Catholic religion in the island of Ireland, and further to lead her people, if not as tributaries to the Holy See, such as they were five centuries ago, to subject themselves to the mild yoke of the Pontiff, at least in all spiritual affairs—thus to gain over souls innumerable to the glories of Paradise." The moment Rinuccini landed in Ireland it was perfectly plain that he would be content with nothing less than the extermination of the Protestants. The level-headed men in the old English party and even of the old Irish party, with the signal exception of Owen Roe O'Neill, looked askance at such a proposal. The Nuncio announced his intention of pronouncing an interdict on the kingdom, and, despite the opposition of seven bishops, the Jesuits and the Carmelites, he persisted in his intention. There was thus another schism in his own side, in which there were no less

than three great parties. The Confederation of Kilkenny was crippled at home and also abroad, for the battle of Naseby was an obvious indication with whom the victory in the war in England was about to rest. Rinuccini, blind to the signs of the times, persisted in the waging of the war, but the old English and the old Irish parties fell away from him.

The position of affairs in the south moved Monro to come to the attack of Kilkenny. On his way south Owen Roe O'Neill intercepted him at Benburb on June 5, 1646, and the outstanding contest of the war ensued. Monro's Scots were as confident of victory as their General, whose greatest fault lay in his tendency to underrate his opponent. The battle began at six in the evening, and Monro's men had the sun in their eyes and the wind against them. That summer evening witnessed the complete defeat of Monro. Innocent X was so elated by the news that he attended service at Santa Maria Maggiore and listened to the triumphant *Te Deum* sung. The Papal triumph was premature, for, unlike William III, O'Neill was a general who was unable to reap the results of his success.

The difficulties of the Confederates stand out in a letter of Preston's. They had throughout the war professed loyalty to the King and were certainly fighting in his name. They freely acknowledged that Ormonde was the royal representative. Ormonde as Viceroy summoned Preston to attend a conference, but Preston was obliged to admit that he had "received a positive inhibition from the clergy that neither myself nor any of my commanders, upon pain of excommunication, shall obey any orders from my Lord Lieutenant." In fact, for the moment laying aside their rivalry, O'Neill and Preston threatened Dublin. As they were rivals, so were their men, but for a deeper reason than a personal one. For the soldiers of O'Neill were largely Ulstermen and those of Preston Munstermen, and the Generals found the greatest trouble in preventing the animosities existing between the men of the two provinces, the north and the south, constantly breaking out. Outside eyes discerned the danger not only of these never-ending divisions but also of the growing success of the arms of Oliver Cromwell. Cardinal Mazarin supported proposals for peace, for, unlike that other ecclesiastic, Rinuccini, he was well able to discern the trend of events.

The moment that Charles I was executed the loyal Ormonde proclaimed his son as the new sovereign. There was a natural reaction on the Royalist side, and Ormonde was the very man to take advantage of it. The Puritans under Colonel Michael

Jones assaulted him at Rathmines on August 2, 1649, and inflicted a total defeat on him. O'Neill ought to have helped Ormonde, who was now fighting his battle, but he refused. The power of combination was not in his character. "Being now in my deathbed," he wrote to Ormonde in November 1649, "I call my Saviour to witness that, as I hope for salvation, my resolution, ways and intentions from first to last in these unhappy wars tended to no particular ambition or private interest of my own, notwithstanding what was or may be thought to the contrary, but truly and sincerely to the preservation of my religion, the advancement of his Majesty's service and just liberties of this nation." He wrote the bare truth. O'Neill was a patriot who never dreamt of separating Ireland from England. He was what his party claimed to be, and that was a Royalist. He was a brave and, on the whole, merciful soldier who cared more for his religion than he cared for anything else. He was the Irish Wallace, but there was no Bruce to succeed him. His victory at Benburb was striking, but it was a Stirling followed by no Bannockburn.



# IRELAND

showing  
the Plantations & Settlements under  
**ELIZABETH, JAMES I.  
& CHARLES I.**

Natural Scale 1:3250,000

English Miles

0 10 20 30 40





## CHAPTER VII

### THE RULE OF THE PURITAN

TWICE during the seventeenth century Ireland was prosperous, and each period of prosperity was signalised by an outbreak of rebellion against England. To an Englishman, Ireland seemed to support the tyranny of the Stewarts at home and to aid that of the Bourbons abroad. In 1641 she rebelled, and continued her rebellion down to the landing of Oliver Cromwell in August 1649. In 1689 she rebelled, and for two years helped the European plans of Louis XIV and hindered those of William III. During the former period Strafford had encouraged the linen manufacture and the industry of the country, and it flourished. During the latter period, in the days of Charles II, Ormonde himself pursued the same policy, with the same results. Strafford and Ormonde developed the industrial resources of the land they ruled, and in each case the development meant danger to England. The English realised that they must avert such a risk, and the plain way seemed to be the depression of industrial Ireland, if her interests in any wise conflicted with those of the mother-country. Charles I used the daughter-country as a means of promoting the system of "Thorough," and James II imitated his father's example. As Strafford is to Charles I, so is Tyrconnel to James II. These general considerations help us to understand the fierce attitude of the Puritans when they impeached the despotic Viceroy in 1641. The charge that moved them most deeply was the belief that Strafford had threatened to employ his Irish army against Englishmen. As a matter of fact, part of his army proceeded to England, and the skirmishes of Nantwich and Northwich demonstrated the possibilities of the scheme.

Oliver Cromwell thought the struggle national. That the Puritan movement should be checked by either the Irish or the Scots was an idea that he could not brook. Ormonde stood for the Royalist cause in Ireland, while Scotland proclaimed Charles II. "Your old enemies," Cromwell informed the

officers of the army, "are again uniting against you." It seemed to him that in Dublin all parties were uniting "to root out the English interest there and set up the Prince of Wales." He burst into a passion when he saw the cause he had so much at heart hindered by the particularism of the day. The *Clarke Papers*, so admirably edited by Professor C. H. Firth, shed much light on the state of his mind. Cromwell disliked the idea of throwing the Constitution into the melting-pot, and one means of bringing it about was the disaffection in Ireland and Scotland. On this matter the *Clarke Papers* are of the utmost value.

The following quotation renders it quite clear that one great Englishman was awake to the fact that Ireland was attempting to dominate England, and it is equally clear that he would never tolerate the attempt. Was another Stewart to be seated upon the throne by Irishmen or Scotsmen, and was the cause of liberty thereby to be undone? "And truly, this is really believed," maintains the Protector, "if we do not endeavour to make good our interest there [i.e. in Ireland], and that timely, we shall not only have (as I said before) our interest rooted out there, but they will in a very short time be able to land forces in England and to put us to trouble here. I confess I have had these thoughts with myself that perhaps may be carnal and foolish. I had rather be overrun with a cavalierish interest than a Scotch interest, than an Irish interest; and I think of all this is most dangerous. If they shall be able to carry on their work they will make this the most miserable people in the earth, for all the world knows their barbarism—not of any religion, almost any of them, but in a manner as bad as Papists—and you see how considerable therein they are at this time. Truly it is come thus far that the quarrel is brought to this state that we can hardly return unto that tyranny that formerly we were under the yoke of, which through the mercy of God hath lately been broken, but we must be at the same time subject to the kingdom of Scotland, or the kingdom of Ireland, for the bringing in of the King. Now it should awaken all Englishmen, who are perhaps willing he should have come in upon an accommodation, but see now that he must come from Ireland or Scotland." "There is more cause," he continues, "of danger from disunion amongst ourselves than by anything from our enemies. . . . I am confident we doing our duty and waiting upon the Lord, we shall find He will be as a wall of brass round about us, till we have finished that work He has for us to do."



Nationally, then, Cromwell resented the outbreak of the second Civil War in Ireland. Moreover, he dreaded the power of the Pope, for he perceived its might in the sword and pike of the Roman Catholic in Ireland and on the Continent. The allegiance Roman Catholics owed the Pope proved a determining cause of the strong attempts made to keep them in political subjection. No doubt the colonists wanted to seize the estates of these unfortunate men, but the private correspondence of their governors demonstrates that purely religious motives played little or no part in the repressive policy. Cardinal Richelieu assisted the Irish rebels in 1641, and his premature death, from their point of view, dealt a serious blow to the conspirators. The French monarch was the trusted ally of these men, the French monarch was a Roman Catholic; therefore by an easy process of reasoning the colonists argued that every Roman Catholic was their political enemy.

In 1646 Cardinal Pamphili, the Papal Secretary of State, had written to Rinuccini: "The Holy See never can by any positive act approve of the civil allegiance of Catholic subjects to a heretical prince. . . . It had been the constant and uninterrupted practice of the Holy See never to allow its ministers to make or consent to any public edict of Catholic subjects for the defence of the Crown and person of a heretical prince." The recent treatment, too, of the Huguenots by Cardinal Richelieu convinced the Puritans that a war of extermination was to be waged against Protestants everywhere. Hence a Huguenot, a native of the Vaudois, a Protestant, wherever he lived, was a friend, and a Roman Catholic must inevitably be an enemy.

The dominant feeling of the seventeenth-century Protestants was that the gravest heresy of the Roman Catholic Church was the claim it put forth on behalf of the Papacy to hold a political supremacy over all princes and potentates. Its so-called erroneous doctrines and corrupt practices were but as dust in the balance compared with its claim to use the deposing power. If the reader scans any pamphlet of those days he is sure, before he turns over many leaves, to see a reference to the Pope or his stalwart supporter, the great Cardinal Bellarmine. The Puritans had been trained to look upon the Pope as the head of an alien jurisdiction menacing the real independence of the country. There was, moreover, opportunity for men to hear such views. The fifth of November furnished to the clergy a suitable occasion for inveighing against Papal interference in the life of the State.

Sober political philosophers dreaded the power of Rome almost as much as did the people. Filmer opens his *Patriarcha* with an elaborate attack on Bellarmine's position. Even Hobbes devotes a whole book of *The Leviathan* to the "Kingdom of Darkness," signifying thereby the Roman Catholic Church. It was not to be borne by a Puritan, especially by one of the character of Oliver Cromwell, that a Church should exist as a political body, claiming universal empire, and dissolving the bonds of national allegiance. He applied in advance two parts of the famous sneer of Voltaire against the Holy Roman Empire, for he affirmed that its holiness was at all events doubtful, and that it could by no means pretend to be an empire.

Not for nothing had the Puritan imbibed the spirit of Henry II. He saw the spirit of Thomas Becket in the followers of Ignatius Loyola, for no men defended the political power of the Papacy more ably than the Jesuits. Andrewes and Bramhall, Jeremy Taylor and Jackson, denounced in their pulpits what they believed to be the evils and the dishonesty of Jesuitry, but it was not from a doctrinal standpoint. No English Pascal declaims against their casuistry as does every line of the *Lettres écrites à un Provincial*. But they set out the Jesuits as objects of public scorn, as traitors against the nation, seeking to hamper its free life. Filmer, in his preface to *The Anarchy of a Mixed Monarchy*, informs us that "the main, and indeed the only, point of Popery is the alienating and withdrawing of subjects from their obedience to their Prince." The evidence is cumulative in showing it to be the common conviction that since Popery involved a belief in the deposing power it was necessarily a disloyal doctrine. Later, it will be highly essential to understand this point of view when we come to deal with the Penal Laws, passed after 1692, for this standpoint gave rise to them; and unless we grasp it, these laws appear as an absolutely tyrannical code, having no other ground than religious bigotry pure and simple; whereas, in point of fact, mere theological antipathies were of little effect as compared with political apprehensions in producing the severities of the penal code.

On national and theological grounds Oliver Cromwell conceived that he had strong reason for executing reprisals upon the Irish. To these weighty grounds was added the desire to avenge his countrymen slaughtered during the Rebellion of 1641. The massacres at Portadown and at Shrule Bridge, for example, had aroused English feeling to an intense degree.

“ We are come,” Cromwell held, “ to take account of the innocent blood that hath been shed, and to endeavour to bring them to account—by the blessing and presence of Almighty God, in Whom alone is our hope and strength—who by appearing in arms seek to justify the same. We come to break the power of lawless rebels who, having cast off the authority of England, live as enemies to human society, whose principles—the world hath experience of—are to destroy and subjugate all men not complying with them. We come—by the assistance of God—to hold forth and maintain the lustre and glory of English liberty, in a nation where we have an undoubted right to do it; whereas the people of Ireland—if they listen not to such seducers as you are—may equally participate in all benefits to use liberty and fortune equally with Englishmen, if they keep out of arms.”

The Jesuit Cornelius O'Mahony, writing in 1645, exultingly testifies that over a hundred and fifty thousand heretics had been killed. Of course this estimate is absurd. Still, it was in circulation. The exact number of the victims cannot, it is obvious, be estimated, but there is no doubt that close on ten thousand Protestants perished. The gravity and magnitude of these outrages have been of late as ridiculously minimised as they were at one time scandalously exaggerated. But, taking the very lowest estimate, they were quite numerous enough to excite the liveliest alarm in an age to which the notion of a religious massacre was not unknown.

It is not too much to say that an Englishman of these times viewed an Irishman in the same light as an Englishman of the year 1857 looked upon a Hindoo. The fugitives from Ireland no doubt told the tale of their hardships, and the tale did not lose in the telling. The story ran in England that in Munster the rebels had filled a quarry with both the living and the dead, and had left them all to rot together. More Protestants were massacred in 1641 than English in the mutiny of 1857. There are evil spirits which it is easier, as German legend tells us, to raise than to lay, and the spirit of revenge is of them. That there was no foundation for the belief that a hundred and fifty thousand had been massacred is beyond all question, but such rumours produced grave consequences. When carburetted hydrogen and air in certain proportions exist in a mine, no great harm ensues so long as they are left alone. But if a miner enters with a lighted candle, an explosion at once takes place. That is what happened to Cromwell when he heard the dreadful rumours, and he went to Ireland resolved



to punish the doers of these terrible deeds. Unless the effect of these rumours upon the Puritan mind is taken into account, it is useless to try to understand the career of the Protector in Ireland. His career bears eloquent testimony to the profound truth of R. L. Stevenson's aphorism, "The actual is not the true." Such a consideration helps to explain why, with the single exception of Basing House, he had been merciful in one country and merciless in another.

Warfare was brutally conducted in the seventeenth century. The Thirty Years' War lasted to 1648, and we select from it the incident of the capture of Magdeburg. After its capture no less than thirty thousand were slain in cold blood. This number included the baby in arms and the helpless old man and old woman. The young woman was exposed to the double sacrifice of virtue and life. In a single church fifty-three women were found beheaded. The Croats amused themselves with throwing children into the flames, Pappenheim's Walloons with stabbing infants at their mothers' breasts. For over two days the massacre of the garrison, and of armed and unarmed citizens, lasted, and Sir A. W. Ward concludes that "the nameless deeds of horror committed are only too well authenticated." Pappenheim, who greatly underestimated the loss of life in this sack, expressed his opinion to Maximilian that no such awful visitation of God had been witnessed since the destruction of Jerusalem. Cromwell was thirty-two years of age when the Roman Catholic army captured this maiden city of Germany, the vaunted bulwark of the Protestant faith.

When Cromwell landed in Dublin in August 1649 he proceeded to face the Confederation organised by Ormonde. At once he perceived that Drogheda must be taken, for it commanded the road along which the Ulster Scots would advance to join Ormonde. Wellington said of Marlborough in Flanders that "he was the government," and this remark applies with justice to the Protector. He combined the powers of the Lord Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief, and he had an army of twelve thousand men, well officered and well equipped. The geographical position of Drogheda explains the importance of the town. The wide estuary of the Boyne presents an easy entrance into Ireland from the east, and the port forms the key to the strongholds of the interior. The possession of the town controlled the ancient kingdom of Meath and gave a convenient landward approach to Ulster. Moreover, it was no more than thirty miles of level country from the metropolis.

The work was urgent, and on September 3 the Puritan army



was before Drogheda, whose garrison was commanded by the experienced Sir Arthur Aston. The efficiency of the eleven battering-pieces was soon to become evident to Aston. On September 9 the batteries began to play with effect, and on the following day this letter was despatched to the Governor, Sir Arthur Aston :

“SIR,—Having brought the army belonging to the Parliament of England before this place, to reduce it to obedience, to the end effusion of blood may be prevented, I thought fit to summon you to deliver the same into my hands to their use. If this be refused, you will have no cause to blame me. I expect your answer and rest

Your servant,  
O. CROMWELL.”

No answer came, for the officers were confident that they could sustain a siege. A glance at the map will show the serious disadvantage at which the Boyne placed the Ironsides, for they had no forces on the north side of that river. Drogheda, like Athlone and Limerick, was divided into two parts separated by the Boyne, and joined by a single bridge. Cromwell could not assail it on both sides and could not prevent the entrance of supplies. Acre stood between Napoleon and supremacy, and Drogheda stood between Cromwell and the triumph of his cause. On the non-receipt of a reply from Aston, he removed the white flag which waved over his quarters and substituted a red ensign. His battering-pieces of large size and his mortars played vigorously upon the wall of the south side. For, like York and Chester, the besieged town possessed walled defences.

At five in the afternoon of September 11 Cromwell ordered the storming of the town. The Celtic race is supposed to fight better in offensive than defensive actions. But the Irish always fight well behind a wall: the siege of Derry and the two sieges of Limerick in after-days demonstrate this, and the present siege also afforded a demonstration. The garrison stoutly repulsed the regiments of Ewer, Hewson and Castle, which were obliged to retreat. Then Cromwell went to the breach with a fresh reserve of Colonel Ewer's men, and the day was won. The breach and the triple line of entrenchments were gained after a stubborn fight. The town, however, had not fallen, for the brave Irish soldiers occupied the Millmount within the town “exceedingly high and strongly palisadoed.”

Perhaps the prospect of the renewed struggle enraged Cromwell, for at the foot of the Millmount he ordered that all should be put to the sword. He had warned the garrison of their fate if they resisted; he had replaced his white flag by a red one. The laws of war then and long afterwards authorised him to refuse quarter when a garrison defended an indefensible post. In this connection we quote the letter written by the Duke of Wellington to Canning on February 3, 1820:

“I believe it has always been understood that the defenders of a fortress stormed have no claim to quarter; and the practice which prevailed during the last century of surrendering a fortress when a breach was opened in the body of the place, and the counterscarp had been blown in, was founded upon this understanding. Of late years the French have availed themselves of the humanity of modern warfare, and have made a new regulation that a breach should stand one assault at least. The consequence of this regulation was to me the loss of the flower of the army in the assaults of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz. I certainly should have thought myself justified in putting both garrisons to the sword; and if I had done so to the first, it is probable I should have saved 5,000 men in the assault of the second. I mention this in order to show you that the practice of refusing quarter to a garrison which stands an assault is not a useless effusion of blood.”

This was the attitude of the Protector after the obstacle presented by the resistance at the Millmount. In its defenders he beheld—quite mistakenly—the men who had taken part in the massacres of 1641. Despite the Biblical command, vengeance was his and he took it. All who “were in arms in the town” were put to the sword. Aston with his gallant officers and men were ruthlessly cut down. In or around St. Peter’s Church a thousand were slain, including women and children. Of this slaughter Cromwell wrote: “I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon those barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future; which are the satisfactory grounds of such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret.”

The letter of the Governor of Wexford, Colonel David Synott, to Ormonde, of September 30, shows the effects of the capture of Drogheda. “I find,” he writes, “no resolution in the townsmen to defend the town, but, to speak the truth nakedly, I find and perceive them rather inclined to capitulate and take conditions of the enemy.

“ P.S.—Their inclination to deliver it to Cromwell, apprehensive of the same usage that the town of Drogheda had.”

If the people surrendered Wexford, Cromwell offered to protect the lives and property of the inhabitants and give quarter to the officers, and to allow the private soldiers to return to their homes on engaging never again to take arms against Parliament. The people and the garrison resisted and the town was stormed. Townsmen were killed, but they had fought against the Puritans, and their fate was the fortune of war. In the rush to the boats we have no doubt that men and women were drowned, but this was accidental, not deliberate. There was no more resistance : the capture of Drogheda and of Wexford had put an end to that. New Ross, Kilkenny, Clonmel, Cork, Kinsale and Youghal came over to the side of Cromwell.

Cromwell's opposition to Roman Catholicism was far more political than theological. In Dublin he associated with Father Nicholas Netterville, a Jesuit. The latter often dined at the Protector's table and played chess with him. Captain Foulkes accused him of saying Mass, and he replied, “ I am a priest, and the Lord General knows it. And tell all the town of it, and that I will say Mass here every day.” To the Roman Catholic peasants Cromwell gave protection. Thus on the way to Drogheda he ordered two of his private soldiers to be put to death in the face of the whole army for stealing two hens from a poor Irishwoman. Three more were condemned to die for plundering. The farmers hastened to supply his army with plentiful provisions, and in fact they contributed more abundantly to the Puritan army than to that of their fellow-countrymen. A private letter discloses the feelings of the ordinary people. On September 22, 1649, Nicholas Loftus told Pierce Laffan : “ They [i.e. the people of Wexford] need not fear any violence of the English soldiers, unless it be those which they find in arms against them, for all other must not be hurt nor touched in their bodies nor their goods, and to this end there is now a proclamation put out here [i.e. in Dublin] that on pain of death no soldier shall take from any man whatsoever to the value of one penny.”

The Earl of Castlehaven informed Ormonde on September 30 : “ You may perceive by the enclosure how Cromwell permits his friends to tamper with the people of the country ; he is most kind unto them. Last night he gave 5 *l.* in the house where he lay.” Another Royalist supporter, Sir Lewis Dyves, wrote to the Marquess of Newcastle that he “ observed how fast (notwithstanding the admonition declared of all the [Roman



Catholic] Bishops from Clonmacnoise to the contrary) the people, being alienated with ravaging, and disorder of their own armies, and allured with the successes, and smooth invitations of Cromwell, ran headlong into him for protection, and under contribution; as also, how great numbers of the Irish soldiers . . . flocked in unto the enemy."

Letters like these show the impression the Protector undoubtedly made, and compel genuine regret that the massacres of Drogheda and of Wexford have dimmed the memory of his kindly actions. From a military point of view their effects were transient, while from a political point of view they were absolutely deplorable. They widened most sensibly the yawning gulf between the two great races in the country, and the evils of this policy remain to the present moment. Still, he could justly say: "Give us an instance of one man, since my coming into Ireland, not in arms, massacred, destroyed or banished, concerning the massacre or the destruction of whom justice has not been done or endeavoured to be done." This challenge was addressed to the Roman Catholic clergy in 1649, and they did not attempt to meet it.

The natives had rebelled, and now they, or rather their leaders, were to pay the price of the Rebellion of 1641. All paid the price, though the leaders paid especially heavily. The place of their leaders was to be taken by "adventurers" who had lent money to the Long Parliament. The people were to be sent to Connaught. This province was chosen simply because geographical conditions rendered it an easy place within which to confine the Irish. It was not chosen because it was the poorest part of the country, for in the seventeenth century that distinction, in spite of the efforts of the Ulster Scots, was still enjoyed by the northern province. The Government reserved the forfeited lands in four counties for itself. It gave those in seven others to the English army at home and to the men of Munster who had forsaken Charles I, while it gave those in eighteen to the "adventurers" and the soldiers. Twenty-six Roman Catholic landlords saved their estates, but the rest lost them. The dispossessed might go to Connaught and Clare. So the courts settled, but so it was not. For the English strongly objected to a complete transplantation of the whole native population to either Clare or Connaught. They could not secure Protestant tenants to cultivate the soil, and they could not secure labourers. The natives therefore must remain. The Cromwellian Plantation was the largest ever made, and by it the new settlers received about six and a half



million acres. It was a tremendous change, but such changes were common in that day. The same generation witnessed an equally large removal of landlords from Bohemia and from some of the Alpine dominions of the Habsburgs. The Cromwellian Plantation resulted in the first great dispersion of the Irish, for no less than thirty-four thousand of them emigrated to France and Spain.

As there was a reaction against Royalty all over Europe during the second quarter of the seventeenth century, so during its sixth decade a reverse reaction occurred. In the north Frederick III succeeded in establishing absolutism at Copenhagen. In Sweden, though the death of Charles Gustavus had arrested the same movement, his son succeeded in carrying it out. In France Louis XIV was assuming that kingly position which meant so much for the future of Europe. England was mad with the joy of the Restoration.

The King had at length come into his own, and the King's followers expected to come into their own. The Puritans, however, were in possession. Charles II was moderately anxious to look after those who had fought for his father and for himself, but his anxiety was tempered by his desire to take the line of least resistance. His Irish followers in exile were allowed to return. The landowners who had been confined to Connaught were now permitted to reside anywhere they pleased. A large number of dispossessed landowners obtained letters from the King ordering the immediate restoration of their estates; and where their estates were not in the possession of Cromwellian soldiers or adventurers, they actually obtained possession. The only drawback to a settlement on lines like these was, as Ormonde cynically remarked, that it would be necessary to discover a new Ireland, for the old was not large enough to satisfy the claims of the possessors and the would-be possessors.

The King proceeded on the assumption that the property of all persons implicated in the Rebellion from and after October 1641 was forfeited and actually vested in the Crown. By the Royal Declaration of November 30, 1660, all lands possessed by the adventurers of 1659 were secured to them. Officers and soldiers also had their possessions confirmed to them. If Roman Catholics were "innocent" of any part in the Rebellion, they were to be restored to their estates. Obviously there must be a court specially appointed to try innocence. The outcome was that in 1662 the Court of Claims was appointed to adjudicate on all cases brought before it.

The Act of Settlement of 1662 assumes that the Irish were conquered enemies, with their lands at the disposal of the conquerors. Still, it confirmed the Royal Declaration of 1660, and acknowledged the rights of the innocent. But how were the innocent to get their lands? Some provision was made for them by the Act of Explanation of 1665. By it the adventurers and soldiers gave up one-third of their properties. The outcome was, to use the estimate of Sir William Petty, that before the Rebellion the Roman Catholics owned two-thirds of the land and the Protestants one-third; whereas now the Protestants owned two-thirds and the Roman Catholics one-third. *Vae victis!* was the order of the day. Sir William Petty sums up the result of the Rebellion thus: "But upon the playing of this game or match upon so great odds, the English won and have (among and besides other pretences) a gamester's right at least to their estates."

As one peruses the proceedings of this Restoration Settlement one is more and more impressed by the part the tales of the atrocities of the Rebellion of 1641 played in it. The Cromwellians justly pointed out to Charles II that though the Irish nominally fought for him, they were really fighting on behalf of their own interests the whole time. The Protestant agents produced an original copy of the instructions issued by the Supreme Council of the Confederation of Kilkenny early in 1648 to the Bishop of Ferns and Sir Nicholas Plunkett, who were proceeding on a mission to the Pope. Some of the instructions were harmless. For instance, Innocent X was asked to mediate between the Irish, Queen Henrietta Maria and Charles II, who was then Prince of Wales. But there were other instructions not nearly so harmless. For it was laid down that in the last resort the Pope was asked to be the Protector of Ireland. Plunkett himself had signed this instruction. Now, Charles II was displeased with the notion of Protectors: Oliver Cromwell had been enough for him. Besides, Innocent X was actually asked to occupy the place which lawfully belonged to the King. Moreover, there were other drafts in the handwriting of Sir Nicholas Plunkett. These asked for mediation on the part of France and Spain, and even that the kings of these countries might assume the place of Protectors. The anger of Charles II, as he heard of these instructions, was not at all simulated. He was absolutely determined not to set out on his travels again, not even if there were danger that Innocent X or Louis XIV or Philip IV might take his place. Such disclosures pressed severely on the claims of the unfortunate Irish.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE REVOLUTION AND ITS RESULTS

FOR the second time Ireland became the seat of an international struggle. There have been many great duels in history. There was that rivalry between man and man which was witnessed between Charles of Burgundy and Louis XI, between Charles V and Francis I, and between Philip II and the Prince of Orange. Perhaps the greatest of all these was the duel between Louis XIV and William III which, for a time at least, was fought in our land. The course of our history was powerfully affected by these two great rivals. Each of these players on the international chess-board regarded Ireland as a pawn in the game, and the thoughtful spectator must always remember that each played or attacked it from a European, not from an Irish, point of view.

The fortunes of Ireland for the last two decades of the seventeenth century depended upon the attempt of the Grand Monarch to dominate Europe, and upon the counter-efforts of his rival to check him. Here the custom of treating the history of Ireland apart from that of other nations has done much to obscure the course of the game. The player on his national side is plain to us all. The player on his international side is hidden from us. No doubt from the latter point of view it is difficult to understand the progress of the game, for the play seems puzzling and at times the moves are bewildering. Yet if the reader does not try to see the larger motives in the mind of the player, he inevitably makes mistakes, and his limited view blinds him to the inner significance of the events. On him who surveys Irish history from the European standpoint the highest rewards are bestowed, for he finds clues to many a move of the piece which we may call Dublin.

The House of Stewart fell in 1649, was restored in 1660, and finally crashed to the ground in 1688. The historian can now write "finally," but to the men of the Revolution it was not at all clear that this time the fall was irremediable. For sixty years after the flight of James II efforts were made to restore



the exiled dynasty. The ill-planned expeditions to Ireland in 1689 and 1690, and the "Fifteen" and the "Forty-five," are specially notable. Yet a careful reading of the secret history of the time discloses other plans that seemed destined to succeed.

In spite of the efforts of Charles II and James II, the heart of England remained decisively Protestant. The English saw the tyranny of Louis XIV both at home and abroad, and this tyranny became connected in their minds with Roman Catholicism. Their own king at home, James II, convinced them that a Roman Catholic monarch and a tyrant were synonymous terms. The form of Roman Catholicism that James II and his ally, Louis XIV, professed deserves attention. Despite the devotion of both to their communion, they regarded it as the State department of religion. The French Church seemed in 1682 on the point of separating from Rome. That noble Pontiff, Innocent XI, regarded with intense disfavour the Gallicanism of the French and the English kings, and his attitude left an abiding mark on the history of Ireland. For he swung round to the side of the Dutch King, and uttered prayers for the success of his expedition to our shores.

To ensure the success of the French moves against William of Orange it was of vital importance to gain and to hold control of the sea. Richelieu saw the worth of such control, but this insight was denied to the successor of Mazarin. For Louis XIV did not understand the force of Berkeley's pregnant line :

"Westward the course of Empire takes its way."

He turned east when he ought to have turned west, and as his gaze was steadily removed from sea to land, his fleet became in the course of time so insignificant that at last the English fleet proved supreme. He forgot that on the ruins of Spain two other maritime nations were growing up—Holland and England. He was not fully alive to the significance of the place where his land and theirs met—the English Channel. In any struggle at sea the importance of these waters was signal, for a contest there must prove the prelude to struggles elsewhere. Tyrconnel in Ireland and Frontenac in Canada tried hard to turn the gaze of Louis westward past his own shore, but they utterly failed.

The death of Charles II in 1685 had altered the situation in some degree. Charles could—and the biting phrase neatly marks off the difference between the brothers—if he would, and James would if he could. William in Holland saw how



much depended on the friendly attitude of the new King, and he tried to secure it. James for the moment desired the friendship of Holland, for he wanted peace to complete the work of his brother. He had resolved to imitate Charles in his remarkably successful attempts to gain absolute power, for with the silencing of the opposition of the towns by the writs *quo warranto* came the subservience of Parliament. James thought that with the silencing of the two ancient universities there would surely come the subservience of the clergy. With an obedient Parliament and an obsequious clergy, what had his policy of Romanising the nation to fear? Moreover, had not his cousin of France proved that the conversion of heretics was a feasible, nay, an easy task? Did not even Bossuet assure his sovereign that the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was a tremendous success? No doubt James's English subjects might be affrighted at the form the conversion assumed, but much might be put down to the belief that the reports were as exaggerated as those of the 1641 Rebellion undoubtedly were. His absolute power should be shown as effectively in matters ecclesiastical as his brother's had been in the sphere of civil affairs. But—it was a grave “but”—in order to convert England to Roman Catholicism the need of French succour was apparent.

The Revolution of 1688 united Holland and England under one head, giving William the control of the three territories divided by two pieces of water. Between his native land and England lay the English Channel, and between England and Ireland the Irish Channel. On the control of these two narrow straits the success of the combination against Louis depended, for whoever held these seas must ultimately prove master of Europe. If William succeeded in retaining it, the ascendancy of France must become a thing of the past, and England, or rather William, must take its place. The silver circle of the sea preserved England from all danger of an invasion by land, though Holland lay open to a land attack through Belgium. In order to make his position impregnable it was as necessary for William to secure the safety of Belgium as it was to hold the narrow seas. “The Republic,” held William, “cannot lose Belgium, its proper bulwark.”

For nine years the struggle between England and France goes on. Nominally the King of France is supporting the exiled monarch in his attempt to regain his crown and to drive the usurper away. Really there is a life-and-death struggle proceeding between William and Louis, and on its results

depends the answer to the all-important question, Is Europe to be ruled by the tyrant or is it to be allowed to develop freely ? If Louis gained control of the Channel, despotism confronted Europe ; while if William secured it, freedom would have every opportunity of asserting itself. The theatrical scene of farewell at St. Germain when James set out for Ireland imposes on the hasty reader who has not studied the secret history of the time. But when he has consulted the documents, now yellow with age, which reveal that secret history, he at once revises his estimate of the generosity of the French king. For then it becomes patent that the seeming generosity of Louis was in reality the outcome of studied ostentation and calculating selfishness, and that in the soul of the great Bourbon, with all his brilliance, there shone none of that pure zeal for liberty which gleamed so persistently in the breast of his less showy rival.

Louis in 1688 rearranged the pieces in the game he was playing. If James went to England, he might succeed at once or he might fail : the expedition of Monmouth had enjoyed but a short career. If, on the other hand, he went to Ireland, France in 1689 still had control of the sea. If William could be persuaded to go there, supplies to him could be blocked on the initiative of France. Let James set out for Dublin, and William must follow him. The French king resolved on an expedition to Ireland, not with the desire of seating James on his throne, but with the desire of making the wearing of the crown as uncomfortable as possible to his rival. France would best be served by a long-continued and desultory warfare, rendering William incapable of action in Europe and making the Channel still a ciphers.

The thoughts of Louis were long thoughts. In 1648 Sir Nicholas Plunkett had offered to confer the protectorship of Ireland upon him. In 1666 he received an offer of the submission of Ireland if the Irish were aided in their attempt to throw off the yoke of England. Tyrconnel approached him with a similar offer. Since June 1686 Tyrconnel had been practically supreme ruler in Ireland, and, like Strafford, he made preparations for the contest which he foresaw. He remodelled the Privy Council, adding eighteen Roman Catholics and two Protestants to it. The Lord Chancellor, Sir Charles Porter, did not take a lax enough view of his functions, and he was replaced by a convert from Protestantism, Alexander Fitton. The new Baron of the Exchequer, Stephen Rice, and his colleague, Sir Henry Lynch, announced that Protestants

should have nothing from them but the least the law could give them. Rice indeed declared his intention of driving a coach-and-six through the Act of Settlement, a measure he hated as cordially as Tyrconnel himself. With the Privy Council and the bench of judges remodelled, the next step was to control the sheriffs and the justices of the peace. Tyrconnel was nothing if he was not thorough. In 1686 there was only one Protestant sheriff in the whole country, and his name appeared by a mistake.

The towns were the stronghold of Protestantism, and it was vital to Tyrconnel to get rid of the householders in the hundred towns that existed. It was an easy process. Had not Charles II shown the way? The Roman Catholic Viceroy required the surrender of the charters of the towns, and in a short time all the corporations had to yield. For the future two-thirds of all the members of the corporations must be Roman Catholic. Take an instance of the thoroughness of the change. In Derry there had been sixty-five aldermen and burgesses, and all of them were Protestant. Now at one fell swoop no less than forty-five of them were Roman Catholics. There are methods of redressing grievances, but such a drastic one was sure to provoke immediate trouble.

The confidence of the Ulsterman was shaken, but in spite of this shaking it never deserted him. When he realised the oppression of Tyrconnel, he at once rebelled against the authority of James II. The rebellion of 1689 was racial, for the moving cause was the ancient opposition between the men of Ulster and those of the rest of Ireland. It is a mere accident that the boundaries of race coincided with those of religion. The Ulsterman felt towards the natives much as a Southern planter felt towards his slaves. Contemporary writers noted in them something of the Castilian haughtiness of manner, founded upon the conscious superiority of a dominant people.

The Enniskilleners at once announced their spirit when they declared: "We stand upon our guard and do resolve by the blessing of God rather to meet our danger than to expect it." The spirit of Cromwell's Ironsides lived on in the dour and resolute men of the north. Both men and women were deeply penetrated by a vivid sense of the omnipresence of their Maker. They felt that they were "for ever in the great Taskmaster's eye"; and this feeling rendered them earnest and determined. This detachment from the world made them cultivate the spirit of austerity at home; and their aloofness from all forms



of amusement, even the most innocent, developed a certain sternness of demeanour abroad.

Derry was the first place to shake off allegiance to James II. Tyrconnel sent Lord Antrim's regiment to it. The apprentice boys locked the gate in the face of the men of this regiment, and on December 7, 1688 the memorable siege of one hundred and five days began. The strength of the city lay in the courage and the determination of those who guarded its ramparts. Puritanism was the great tower of strength to the besieged. The Puritans of the Irish Revolution imitated with conspicuous success the methods of their fathers in the great Civil War. The eighteen clergy of the Church of Ireland and the seven or eight Nonconformist ministers exerted themselves to comfort and sustain their people. "Put your trust in God and keep your powder dry," is a piece of advice ascribed to the practical Oliver Cromwell. The appearance of the Cathedral during the siege illustrated the twofold aspect of this saying. Every morning the liturgy of the Irish Church was said, while every afternoon the Dissenters employed their form of worship. On the tower of the Cathedral cannon were erected, and in its vaults ammunition was stored. The defender of Derry was confident that, whether he prayed or fought, he was equally fulfilling the will of God. Rosen, the French commander, was defeated, and his defeat meant not only the salvation of Derry but also the salvation of Enniskillen. If these two towns had been obliged to surrender, William would have had to fight his way to the shores of Ireland. To compare small matters with great, the raising of the siege of Derry just as effectually destroyed the hopes of Louis XIV as the result of the first battle of the Marne destroyed those of William II. Little as he realised it, the French king received a fatal blow from the citizens of a petty town in the north of Ireland. Like William, they felt there was one way never to be defeated, and that was to die in the last ditch.

In the meantime James was meeting his first Parliament in Dublin on May 7, 1689. There were 232 members of the House of Commons, and out of this number only six were Protestants. Like Tyrconnel, they were determined to redress the wrongs from which they suffered. Not a few of them had lost their lands by the Cromwellian and the Restoration Settlements. The Acts of Settlement and of Explanation were the foundation of the latter, and they at once repealed both. Not only the adventurers and soldiers of Cromwell but also the Cavaliers lost their estates without one farthing for compensation for the



improvements they had effected. The Cromwellians and the Cavaliers had treated the Irish landholders unfairly, and they in turn treated the Cromwellians and the Cavaliers unfairly. Their conduct was very human, but it was just as human for the dispossessed to cherish thoughts of retaliation. We must also allow for the fact that the members were inexperienced in public affairs. In their eagerness to avenge their undoubted sufferings in the past they drew up an Act of Attainder which proposed to send two thousand persons to the gallows or the quartering-block. The repeal of the Act of Settlement got rid of the claim to land while the Act of Attainder got rid of the landlord. It is worth while pointing out that the motives for the passing of these two measures were economic and political. Religion played as little part as in the first Plantation under Philip and Mary. The proof of this is easy, for there were Roman Catholic names on the list of the attainted.

Naturally Poynings's Law disappeared. The Parliament and the Law Courts were declared independent of England. Brass coinage was minted from old guns presented by Louis, but there were so many brass coins that the value of one of them did not greatly exceed the value Swift put on one of Wood's halfpence. An Act was also passed establishing religious liberty. But who could believe that either James or his friend Louis cared anything for such liberty? Both had been persecutors in the past, and were likely—given suitable opportunity—to be persecutors in the future.

Of course the value of all these measures depended entirely on the success of Irish arms, officered by the French. Derry had been a bad beginning, and there was worse to follow. For two thousand Enniskilleners, under Wolseley, decisively routed six thousand Jacobites, under Macarthy, at the battle of Newtonbutler in July 1689. Not only were Derry and Enniskillen in the hands of the Williamites, but they now controlled the whole of Ulster. On August 13, 1689, that distinguished veteran the Duke of Schönberg (usually termed Marshal Schomberg) landed with twenty thousand men at Bangor. The fall of Belfast and of Carrickfergus to this host was simple, and Schomberg marched to Dundalk. The winter told cruelly on his men, who had inadequate supplies of every kind furnished to them. Their numbers were depleted by disease. On the other hand, in March 1690 Lauzun arrived with seven thousand three hundred men at Kinsale. William realised that events had reached a crisis. His presence was imperatively demanded. With thirty-six thousand men he left

Belfast for Carrickfergus, resolved to bring matters to a clear and final issue. We can conceive the exultation with which the news of his departure was received at Versailles. The astuteness of the French monarch seemed about to meet with the success it deserved, for was not William destined in the mind of Louis to remain away eight or ten years in the bogs of Ireland? Inevitably this absence from Europe left the way open to Holland by way of Belgium, practically destroyed William's alliance with Leopold of Austria, and, above all, ensured the triumph of Louis's plans in Spain.

On July 1, 1690 William met his foe on the banks of the Boyne, the famous dividing line which has witnessed so many of the great Irish conflicts from the days of Cuchulain.<sup>1</sup> The strong position of the Irish atoned for their deficiency in men. The Irish cavalry fought well, but the Irish infantry did nothing of the sort. William won a slight triumph from the military standpoint, but a momentous one from the political standpoint, for James ran away. It was the only battle William ever won, but it secured for him three kingdoms. He saved Ireland and England from the tyranny of Louis, for on that July day this was the issue that was really at stake. We are not surprised to learn that Leopold of Austria and the Pope, Alexander VIII, were delighted to hear that James had lost the day.

Ulstermen feel a deep pride in the defence of the maiden walls of Derry, but they feel an even deeper pride in the battle of the Boyne. Year by year on "the twelfth"<sup>2</sup> they celebrate this victory. In the north the farmer invariably possesses a picture of this battle, while in the south he possesses a picture of Robert Emmet in the dock; the two pictures are representative of the two nations. They bear witness to what John Stevens regretfully observed in 1690 as "the irreconcilable hatred between Ulster and Munster." The Ulsterman knows that the military triumph of William at the Boyne was small, but he also knows that the flight of James converted it into a victory of the first magnitude. For in deciding the fate of the lesser kingdom of Ireland it decided that of the greater kingdom of Spain, and finally that of the future of Europe.

The Jacobites now moved down to Limerick, a town comparable in situation to Drogheda. As the Boyne divided Drogheda, so the Shannon divided Limerick. The outcome was that William was unable to assault the town from the Con-

<sup>1</sup> A legendary hero (pr. Kehoolin).

<sup>2</sup> July 1, Old Style—July 12, New Style.

naught side as well as from the Munster one. He awaited the arrival of superior siege-guns from Dublin, but by a splendid exploit Sarsfield intercepted them at Ballyneety. It was the first gleam of success on the Jacobite side, and greatly heartened the besieged. In spite of a fierce assault on August 27, 1690, William was compelled to raise the siege. On the other hand Churchill, afterwards the Duke of Marlborough, achieved distinction by the capture of Cork and Kinsale. The capture of towns like these meant the freeing of English ships from the depredations of the French privateers which issued from the southern ports.

Tyrconnel and Lauzun, the Duke of Berwick and Sarsfield, were all in Limerick. The Irish Viceroy and the French General thought that the war had been lost. Tyrconnel always disliked Sarsfield, and he disliked him all the more when he found that he persisted in his desire of carrying on what now seemed a hopeless contest. Tyrconnel sailed for France in order to place his views before Louis. But before sailing he appointed the Duke of Berwick as Commander-in-Chief. A council of twelve civilians controlled local, and another council of twelve controlled military, administration. On the former sat members who had been deprived of their property by the legislation of James's Parliament. The Irish thought that these men were desirous of coming to an agreement with the enemy. Union within Limerick turned to disunion, and each entertained suspicion of the other.

Louis XIV was anxious to maintain the war. Ill as he could afford to spare supplies, he sent St. Ruth to assume command. The new General had commanded the Irishmen in France who formed the nucleus of the famous Irish Brigade. He had served against the Camisards, and therefore understood the kind of warfare he had to wage in Ireland. There was as much to commend him as a general as there was little to commend him as a man. He was not a Sarsfield to get into intimate touch with the men he commanded. He was aloof, and the Irish felt—and resented—his aloofness.

William had left behind him the entirely capable and trustworthy Dutchman, Ginkell. He saw that so long as the Connaught side of Limerick remained open it was useless to attack the town. Athlone barred the way to the western province, and accordingly he moved his men to Athlone. The moment St. Ruth pierced the design of his opponent he approached Athlone, encamping at Ballinasloe. The gallant defence of the besieged withstood the battering the artillery gave the



walls. The attacked were every whit as brave as the attackers, and they splendidly contested the possession of the bridge which crossed the Shannon. For Athlone, like Drogheda and Limerick, was bisected by a river. By a surprise attack at six on the evening of June 30, 1691, Ginkell, despite the presence of St. Ruth, was in possession of Athlone, and the road to Limerick lay open.

St. Ruth was horror-struck by the amazing success of his adversary, and he resolved to make a stand at Aughrim. Like Tyrconnel, he was jealous of Sarsfield, and refused to give him his confidence. On July 12 Ginkell attacked him. The Irish horse fought as finely as they did at the battle of the Boyne. St. Ruth had victory within his grasp when a stray cannon-ball struck him. Sarsfield was with the reserves, and knew nothing of what was taking place. The battle raged fiercely, but in the end victory fell to Ginkell. Derry, Aughrim and the Boyne could now be blazoned on the colours of the Williamites. All the Jacobites could blazon was the raising of the siege of Limerick and the skirmish of Ballyneety.

For the second time Limerick underwent the horrors of a siege. The first time the Connaught side was uninvested, but now it was invested. The English fleet lay on the waters of the Shannon. By land and sea the town was entirely encompassed. Sarsfield admitted that the only course was surrender, and the last town fighting for the French king surrendered. The end had come to the hopes of the Irish and to the hopes of Louis XIV as well. William was not to remain away from England for eight or ten years; he remained away one, and even during that one year he was labouring with all his might and main to preserve the European combination against France that he had effected.

The civil articles of the Treaty of Limerick, 1691, gave the Roman Catholics such privileges as were consistent with the laws of Ireland. The military articles gave the right to any Irish or French soldier in arms to leave Ireland if he so pleased. The garrison of Limerick had been fourteen thousand, and eleven thousand Irishmen volunteered to go to France. Irishmen had left in the days of Oliver Cromwell, and they were now to leave in the days of the Dutch King. The conquest of Irish soldiers was as complete as the heart of William could desire. The conquest of Irishmen was as incomplete as the heart of Louis could desire. William sorely wanted men to finish the destruction of the despotism of France, and Ireland gave him only a thousand. For the future he was to have to



face the hosts of France and to face the Irish troops mingled with them.

The Irish had raised the standard of rebellion against Oliver Cromwell, and the price they paid was the Cromwellian Plantation. Their land was taken from them. They had raised the standard of rebellion against William III, and the price they paid was the Penal Laws. Their political position was taken from them. Parliament met at Chichester House, 1692. Both Houses passed an address which pointed out that "the Irish nation . . . proceeded, in imitation of their new master [i.e. Louis XIV] to violate all faith, to cancel all laws, and overturn the constitution and legal securities of the Kingdom and Protestant religion, to which end they arm the whole body of the Irish Papists either with military weapons, or the murdering skeine and half-pike; they disarm and dismount all Protestants, and turn them out of all offices and employments; they force them to receive their debts and mortgages in brass money; they dissolve all charters and corporations by judges, sheriffs and other officers not legally qualified; they impose taxes without authority of Parliament; they burn and destroy the Protestant houses and improvements, seize their provisions necessary for life, which forced many of them to fly into England for safety and relief, while they continued their barbarities to such as stayed behind; seized the churches, the university and all schools of learning and foundations of religion and charity; they affront, imprison and rob the clergy of their tithes, maintenance and jurisdiction by an Act of their pretended Parliament; they prohibit writs of error and appeals into England and attain thousands of Protestants, among whom were several women and children, without hearing; they repeal the Acts of Settlement, the great bulwark and security of the English interest in this Kingdom." After this address the Roman Catholic ceased to sit in Parliament from 1692 to 1829.

The truth is that the colonists dreaded the power of the Pope, for they perceived its might in the sword and pike of the Irishman fighting the Englishman on the Continent. The French monarch was the trusted ally of their adversaries, the French monarch was a Roman Catholic. Was it not self-evident that every Roman Catholic was their enemy? The Protestants remembered that in 1646 Cardinal Pamphili, the Papal Secretary of State, had refused approval of any member of his communion swearing allegiance to Charles I. They also remembered that in 1662 the Nuncio at Brussels, De Vecchiis,

had stated that a proposed address by the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, emphasising their loyalty to their new sovereign, was a violation of their faith.

The monks were, then as ever, the Pope's militia, and the militia of a man who was the Head of a State as well as the Head of a Church. The loyalty they owed the Pope came before the loyalty they owed the King. Alas! no man, be he ever so honest, can serve two masters. Hegel has well said that the most intensely tragic situation results, not from a conflict of wrongs, but from a conflict of rights, and William III, as the repressor of ecclesiastical power and the defender of civil power, is as deserving of our respect as Innocent XII. The subjects of William must be either King's men or powerless men. This was a question on which there could be no compromise, and there could be no more a question of a subject qualifying his oath of allegiance by a reference to Innocent XII than of a soldier in the army trying to qualify his allegiance. How it appeared to a nineteenth-century mind is clear in the letter Sir Walter Scott wrote to Southey in 1807. "As for Catholic Emancipation," held Sir Walter stoutly, "I am not, God knows, a bigot in religious matters, nor a friend to persecution; but if a particular set of religionists are *ipso facto* connected with foreign politics, and placed under the spiritual direction of a class of priests, whose unrivalled dexterity and activity are increased by the rules which detach them from the rest of the world—I humbly think that we may be excused from entrusting to them those places in the State where the influence of such a clergy, who act under the direction of a passive tool of our worst foe, is likely to be attended with the most fatal consequences. If a gentleman chooses to walk about with a couple of pounds of gunpowder in his pocket, if I give him the shelter of my roof, I may at least be permitted to exclude him from the seat next to the fire."

There was no trouble in devising a Penal Code. Was it not Louis himself who had traced in outline the pattern which was copied only too accurately by the rulers of Ireland, who were imbued with sentiments akin to those of Sir Walter Scott? Roman Catholics were forbidden to become sheriffs, barristers, members of corporations, or enter the army or navy. They were no longer to possess arms or a horse above five pounds in value. They were no longer to buy land, inherit it or receive it as a gift from a Protestant. The maximum period for a lease of land was thirty-one years. When a man died, his property was gavelled or divided equally among all

his children ; but if the eldest became a Protestant, he received it all. All exercising foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction and all regular priests were banished. The Act laid down that they "do not only endeavour to withdraw his Majesty's subjects from their obedience, but do daily stir up and move sedition and rebellion, to the great hazard of the ruin and desolation of this kingdom."

Were these laws enforced ? They were enforced when the threats of French invasion on the part of Louis XIV threatened to become serious, but for the most part they were unenforced. Take one proof. The proportion of Protestant to Roman Catholic is the same to-day as it was in 1692, the date of the first Penal Law. It must be borne in mind that persecution—if sufficiently determined—has invariably been successful. The Protestants vanished from Bohemia just as practically the Huguenots vanished from France. There is another proof. The Clerks of the Crown deliberately made the returns of the list of Roman Catholics illegible, thus defeating the object of the Penal Laws. The Brehon Law was voluntary, and was therefore unable to secure much respect. The English Law was compulsory, but this lack of observance of it weakened the sense of respect for law in a land where it had never been high.

If the lists compiled by the Clerks of the Crown now lying in the Record Office,<sup>1</sup> Dublin, are illegible, the lists compiled for the use of the Government are quite legible. We note one such list for the year 1697, which enumerates 838 secular priests and 389 regular, observing that there are three Roman Catholic bishops, one in Cork, one in Galway, and one in Waterford. It is self-evident that if the persecution of the priest had been purely religious, the Viceroy of 1697, Lord Sidney, for whose benefit this list was drawn up, would never have allowed three bishops to remain in the country. For if he allowed bishops, he allowed ordinations, and he also allowed the Roman Catholic Church to continue its existence. William even allowed priests from Vienna to come to Ireland at one time when there was a shortage. On the other hand, Louis XIV persecuted the Huguenots on religious as well as on political grounds, for he refused to countenance any fresh ordination of ministers.

During the seventeenth century it was universally believed that as there was only one State there could be only one Church in it. There was national unity when all worshipped in the one Church, and there was national disunity when all did not.

<sup>1</sup> This office with its priceless documents was destroyed in the Civil War of 1922.



The Presbyterians of Ulster refused to worship within the walls of the Church of Ireland, and the outcome was that they suffered exclusion from political office. As there were Roman Catholic members of the Irish House of Commons during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, so there were Non-conformist members. In the Parliament of 1692 there were ten Presbyterians, and in that of 1703 there were ten. They were active in the corporations of the north down to the year 1704, when the Test Act was passed. That measure required them to receive Holy Communion according to the custom of the Church of Ireland as a condition of municipal office. The result was the exclusion of the Dissenters for some seventy-five years. The sacramental test, however, did not apply to the freemen in boroughs or to members of Parliament. For example, there were four Dissenters in the 1713-14 Parliament, and in that of 1716 there were six. Another grievance was that a Presbyterian could not serve in the militia. But when a Jacobite invasion threatened Ireland in 1715, the Government allowed him to serve in the Army. After 1715 the Government had to pass an Act of Indemnity to free the Presbyterian from the penalties to which he was liable for loyally serving his country.

The working of the Test Act of 1704 combined with the rack-renting which happened when leases fell in during the year 1718 drove Presbyterian after Presbyterian to the American colonies. In 1728 there were over 4,200 Ulster emigrants, and in 1729, out of 6,308 emigrants who arrived in Philadelphia, no less than 5,655 were Ulster Scots. The famine of 1728 was one reason for their departure, and the payment of the hated tithe was another. Judged by a present-day test the numbers are not large, but it must be borne in mind that in 1714 the total population was less than two millions. There was another famine in 1740, and the number of emigrants increased to an annual average of twelve thousand. From 1771 to 1773 the total emigration from Ulster was thirty thousand, of whom ten thousand were weavers. The cause of this swelling in the volume is primarily due to the doubling or the trebling of the rents in 1771 when the Lord Donegall leases terminated. It is clear that though the Ulster "custom" mitigated the evils of the land system, it did not quite get rid of it.

There was a nemesis for the Penal Laws when George II at the battle of Fontenoy cursed the laws which deprived him of the services of the Irish Roman Catholics fighting so gallantly against him. There was a nemesis for the emigration of the



Ulster Scots when George III could have cursed the laws which in turn deprived him of the services of so many Presbyterians fighting so gallantly against him in the American War of Independence. "We guard it (i.e. the Declaration of Independence)," declared Whitelaw Reid, "sacredly preserved in the handwriting of the Ulster Scot who was the secretary of the Congress; it was first publicly read to the people by an Ulster Scot, and first printed by a third Ulster Scot." Twice the Dutch saved the liberties of the world. The first time they defeated Philip II of Spain in their heroic struggle for independence. The second time they produced that European statesman, William III, who devoted the whole of his life to the resistance of the despotism of Louis XIV. Twice too the men of Ulster helped to save the liberties of the world. The first time they defeated James II, and through his defeat the far-reaching ambitions of the French king. The second time was when they fought in the American War of Independence and took part in ruining the efforts of George III to take the part of a tyrant.

The Ulster Scot enjoys a roll of honour at home; he also enjoys one abroad. President Roosevelt used to remind us that the dominant strain in the early migrants to the American colonies was that of the Ulster Scot. Men of this race supplied some of the finest soldiers of Washington. Northern Generals in his army were Knox and Montgomery, great-grandsons of the men who had defied Tyrconnel. Stonewall Jackson was the son of an Ulster Scot. "As American citizens the Scots-Irish," stated President McKinley, "have ample reason for pride. They were the first to proclaim for freedom in these United States; even before Lexington, Scots-Irish blood had been shed in behalf of American freedom. . . . Next to their intense patriotism the distinguishing characteristics of the Scots-Irish are their love of learning and of religion. The Scots-Irishman is the ideal educator, and he is a natural theologian. It would be difficult to find a college or university without a Scotch-American upon its Faculty." Robert Fulton, the inventor of steam navigation, and Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, were Ulster Scots. To this race belongs John Marshall, a judge of as high a rank as Lord Cairns. The number of Presidents the northern province can claim is astonishing. Presidents Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, James Buchanan, Andrew Johnson, Ulysses S. Grant, Chester A. Arthur, Stephen G. Cleveland, William McKinley and Woodrow Wilson all hail from the race of the Ulster-Scots. Out of the thirty

Presidents no less than nine are of Ulster descent. In the past its numbers have never exceeded a million. Is there any other race on earth which can produce a record like this ?

There is a singular parallelism between the colonial policy of England in Ireland and in the United States. Like all other countries, England secured to herself a monopoly or sole market. Hence the trade of the colonies was carefully regulated in the interests of the mother-country. So France treated Canada, and so Spain treated America. Adam Smith points out that the English colonies were more favoured and allowed more extensive markets than those of any other European nation. The American wool and iron manufactures, however, were subject to restriction. Indeed, Lord Chatham declared that "the British colonists of North America had no right to manufacture even a nail for a horse-shoe."

Strafford and Ormonde had encouraged the linen trade of Ireland, and had discouraged the woollen. The reason was obvious. England had a woollen trade and no linen. Judged by the standards of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries England acted fairly. She refused to permit Englishmen in Lancashire and Yorkshire to manufacture linen, on the ground that it was an Irish industry. She also refused to permit Irishmen to manufacture wool, on the ground that it was an English industry. Ireland was allowed to export the wool in a raw state to England, and to England alone. The temptation to smuggling was strong, for other countries required manufactured woollen goods. What the American colonies did, Ireland did, for the high prices encouraged her to run all the risks of a contraband traffic. In order to put an end to this state of affairs in 1698 the duties on the export of Irish wool were so increased that the trade ceased to be profitable. As the Penal Laws forbade Roman Catholics to take part in trade, few of them suffered any injury by this crushing legislation. The people who suffered, and suffered severely, were the Nonconformists, the Presbyterians. Of course such legislation swelled the tide of emigration now flowing so strongly to the American colonies. The bulk of Irish labour as of English, before the Industrial Revolution, was employed on the land. The state of agriculture was immensely more important than the state of any manufacturer, even the woollen.

If the Roman Catholics went to Continental Europe, if the Nonconformists went to North America, the Huguenots and the Germans came to Ireland. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 drove eighty thousand of them to the shores of

these islands. Louis XIV has left a lasting impression upon the character of the Ulster farmer, but he has left an even more lasting impression upon the character of the Ulster artisan. It is not too much to say that indirectly he created the latter. He had expelled the Huguenots from their native land ; and many of these refugees, who in character, conduct and energy were the fine flower of France, came to Ulster. The men of the north welcomed the exiled Huguenots and exiled the unwelcome King. Of all the unequal exchanges ever made, surely this is the most amazing. The Ulstermen possessed courage and determination—that they proved to all the world. But they received in the first decade of the eighteenth century hard-working men of business, sober and patient ; and these qualities were impressed upon the artisan of Belfast. The Celt, the Scot and the Frenchman all assisted in making the northern province what it is to-day ; and to this intermingling of kindred races observers trace the energy and the enterprise so often characteristic of such blending of blood. Many of the best men in Ulster come from the strong stock of the Huguenots, from Puritan ancestors who scorned delight and lived laborious days, doing strenuously what their hand found to do, forming a type of character which constitutes the greatest of all national assets.

That the influx of fresh blood was urgently required is clear from the report of Louis Crommelin. He found the inhabitants near Lisburn entirely ignorant of the art of managing and working flax, spinning the yarn and whitening the cloth ; they had little practical acquaintance with looms and other indispensable machinery. In spite of these drawbacks they quickly adapted themselves to the employment ; and cloth advanced in price from 12*d.* and 15*d.* to 8*s.* and 9*s.* a yard. The majority of the workers were Dissenters, and the authorities watched with jealousy the practical methods by which the Presbyterians extended their influence. William King points out that “ the arts by which they keep up their party are to take no apprentices that will not engage to go to the meetings with them, to employ none nor trade with any that are not of their own sort, if they can help it.”

Irish weaving had been markedly inferior to the French, and France supplied the English market. Of course the coming of the Huguenots led the way to many improvements in the linen trade. Before the days of the Industrial Revolution skilled labour was more important than capital in improving a backward manufacture like linen. Though the refugees did



not bring much property with them, their nimble fingers and their busy brains more than compensated for the deficiency. There were many difficulties in the way of the acclimatisation of the linen industry. The farmers were obliged to import flax seed, and this proved a costly process. Crommelin, however, persevered in his efforts and formed a company. The machinery was valued, and each operative was assigned his share of capital in proportion to the estimate of the worth of his tools. The growth in capital was accompanied by a corresponding increase in the number of the immigrants. In the year 1702, 389,382 yards of linen cloth were exported, while in the year 1714 the amount was no less than 2,188,272 yards. The efforts of the immigrants were successful, but it took them a long time to love their new home. These settlers, like the Cromwellian planters, intermarried and remained somewhat apart from their neighbours, long cherishing the hope that one day they might return to their beloved France.

Henceforth manufactures were developed. To-day the northern metropolis proudly claims to have the largest linen-mill in the world. Belfast men have improved upon the example of the Huguenots, and have four other establishments ranking as the largest in the world: these are the largest shipyard, the largest mineral-water factory, the largest tobacco factory, and the largest rope-walk. The farmer was fortunate in possessing a certain amount of security of tenure for his land by "the custom of the country." He was no less fortunate in finding industries for his younger sons. The troubles of Ireland at the present time are largely economic, and this means that they are agrarian. If there had been manufactures in the south as there are to-day in the north, the land question could never have become as acute as it has proved to be. For if agriculture were depressed, thriving industries, like those of Ulster, might have compensated for the deficiency; but the paucity of manufactures in the other three provinces rendered this source of relief out of the question.

In the north there existed a flourishing plantation which had transformed the face of the country. A similar plantation in Munster might effect a similar transformation in the south of Ireland. The people to carry it out were obviously the Palatines, the Protestant refugees from Germany, who were necessarily devoted to England. Some five hundred families landed in Dublin in 1709 at the request of the Privy Council, which guaranteed for the next three years a contribution of five thousand a year towards their subsistence. Three hundred



additional families came, and a further grant was made. In three years they received £15,900. From September 4 to January 24, 1709-10, no less than 821 families, or 3,073 persons, landed in Ireland. So eager was the Privy Council to receive them that they changed their plans as to the period during which the money was to be allocated to them, and, in consequence, from September 4 to February 7, 1709-10, they paid out £14,090. Eighteenpence a week was allowed each person; each family was to receive ten pounds a year for twenty-one years. The efforts of the Government were seconded by the charitable donations of the inhabitants; in a few weeks £409 was subscribed by them. Prominent among the supporters of this southern settlement was Archbishop William King, a great statesman, who fully perceived the benefits of this plan. His letters, especially those of 1710, dwell much on its feasibility, though he fears that the cares of the Government and the lack of sufficient pecuniary support may prove obstacles to its permanent success.

King's paper of January 16, 1711 lays down many precautions for the care of the poor Palatines. Trouble had been taken to lodge them conveniently; a daily subsistence had been allowed them; the families had been accurately distributed into the several lots the charitable gentlemen drew, and they had provided houses for those assigned to them. The lands given to them were assigned at easy rates—often at a third less rents than similar farms let to other tenants. They were furnished with some capital for the necessaries of life, and useful machinery was procured for them, “being likewise treated with humanity by their entertainers, at great expense to many of them.”

In spite of this hospitality some left Limerick and returned to Dublin, “we know not on what motives.” A letter written on May 10, 1710, from the Commissioners of the poor Palatines in England, speaks of the “proneness of these people to leave their good settlements and return into England.” The reasons for this conduct seem to us sufficiently obvious. Many of the newcomers were artisans. They were now expected to become farmers, and to this change of occupation they naturally offered strenuous objections. Besides, the grants for the artisans were insufficient; a large part of the money was expended, not in supplying them with the necessary capital, but on weekly subsistence allowances.

Many of these German artisans remained in Ireland, some returning to Dublin, others going to Lisburn. Of course some

dreamed of a return to their native land so soon as peace should be declared. Nothing is more pathetic in the correspondence of this period, French or German, than the letters of the exiles expressing their eager desire to return to their native land. The *Heimweh* feeling persisted among them all. They loved their country, yet because of the doctrine of political uniformity they had been driven from it.

The statesman Southwell and the prelate King were fully alive to the many possibilities of the immigration of the Palatines. The former tried to induce Crommelin to come from Lisburn to Kilkenny in the earnest hope that the south and west might become as industrial as the north. The latter endeavoured, with the active assistance of William III, to stretch a band of plantations from Limerick to Tipperary with the intention of doing in the south what the Ulster Plantation had done in the north. Had these statesmanlike schemes succeeded, we can see that the history of Ireland would have been utterly different. There is little use in speculating on what might have been ; still we cannot forbear expressing our admiration for the patriotic plans of the English official, Sir Robert Southwell, and the Scots bishop, William King.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THOUGH the agriculture of Ireland has always been more valuable than its trade, it is intelligible that the action of the English Parliament in passing measures in 1698, crippling the Irish wool trade, aroused deep resentment among the settlers. It was natural then that there should appear that very year that important book of William Molyneux's, *The Case of Ireland's being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated*. Its main thesis is that Ireland was an independent kingdom, and therefore not bound by English Acts of Parliament. He maintains that if English laws were obeyed in Ireland, they were either declaratory or re-enacted there; and he acutely suggests that the favour with which these laws were regarded in Ireland was due to the fact that Irish members took part in the deliberations thereon. The inference Molyneux draws is plain and unmistakable. "If the Parliament of England is to legislate for Ireland, the latter country must have its representatives in an Imperial Parliament." "And this," he adds, "I believe we should be willing enough to embrace; but this is an happiness we can hardly hope for."

With a noble plea for liberty this tiny treatise of Molyneux concludes. Its immediate significance was little. And yet its real importance on one side is difficult to overestimate, for it has formed the armoury from which successive generations of advocates of Irish self-government from the days of Lucas to the days of Parnell have taken down and polished their weapons of war. On another side it is just as difficult to overestimate its real importance, for it is even of more value for what it foreshadowed than for what it expressed. The desire of Molyneux for the Union was the dream of one age, the claim of the next, and the fact of the third. An anonymous writer in 1695, William Molyneux in 1698, William King in 1701, a pamphleteer in 1703, Henry Maxwell in his tractate of 1704, all discussed the plan of a union with England. The year (1707) that saw the Union with Scotland accomplished

witnessed an address from the Irish House of Lords in favour of a similar union between Ireland and England. The English House of Lords did not yet favour it, and English commercial feeling was hostile to it; nothing therefore came of the proposal at the time.

By England's treatment of Ireland one is forcibly reminded of a trait in the character of James I, who was accustomed to defer concessions until they were robbed of all grace. Similarly England, in the early years of the eighteenth century, refused to Ireland the union that so many Irish publicists advocated, and yet was surprised when the grant of union, nearly a century later, was met with the same coldness in Ulster that she herself had displayed when the demand was first made. *Bis dat qui cito dat* is a maxim of wide application, and the statesman who forgets or ignores it must be prepared to reap a harvest of political ingratitude.

Sound requires an atmosphere, and there was no atmosphere for the book of Molyneux. There was no public opinion to support the views of the writer. In Ireland the first man to stir the populace deeply was Jonathan Swift. It is curious that he should, for he had not an atom of sympathy with the native Irish. All his sympathies were reserved for the Anglo-Irish. Of all the journalists who have written literature—they are a scanty band—he is *facile princeps*. Through all his writings, in spite of their genius, there is more of the temporal than of the eternal. He is Junius at his best, but he never attains to that glimpse of the eternal which was vouchsafed to Burke. If Junius were Sir Philip Francis, then he was an Irishman, and it is not a little strange that three of the greatest of our pamphleteers should be Irish. Swift always indulged in special, rarely in general, pleading. There gleams through all that Burke ever wrote that radiance of the universal which lends a permanent value to the most ephemeral pieces of his writing. Yet Burke could never have left the impression on the world which Swift left. The arguments of the thinker were cogent; the arguments of the pamphleteer were compelling.

"The echoes of the past within his brain,  
The sunrise of the future on his face"—

these are the qualities of the great statesman. Unmistakably the echoes of the past resounded in the mind of Swift. Did the sunrise of the future irradiate his face? We doubt it. His pessimism is far profounder than that of any of his successors, graver than Schopenhauer's. True, as Swift himself con-



fessed, he liked the individual, but he loathed the race. His liking for Tom, Dick and Harry was overcome by his loathing for mankind. Is there a noble side to such deep-seated pessimism? Is it the pessimism of a nature which revolted against the madness and the badness of the world? For the faults he selects for censure are coldness and coarseness, brutality and greed. The coldness and the callousness of the eighteenth century moved him to bring forward his "modest proposal" for the killing and the eating of the superfluous infants of the lower classes. It was in fact a token of his revolt against the harshness of the mothers and the fathers of his day, against society at large.

Of all the iniquities of his time, perhaps war excited him most. Before Voltaire penned his indictment, his brilliant indictment, in *Candide*, Swift uttered the feelings of his heart in *Gulliver's Travels*. Had soldiers fallen in a war for their country, the feelings of the grim Dean of St. Patrick's would have been appeased. But his experience of the world of politics had taught him how often the cause of war is the desire to prop up a falling dynasty, to secure the tenure of a Prime Minister or to please the whim of a woman. If the politicians suffer under his scathing tongue, so do the clergy guilty of ecclesiastical intolerance. Nor do the medical doctors escape, for on occasion he treats them with less respect than Molière himself.

Swift loved his land with all the intensity of passion he lavished on Stella. For we must bear in mind that love manifests itself in the standard it erects. He so cared for England that the depths to which she now and then fell moved him to compose his bitter indictments against her. So we judge the "Drapier Letters," which Swift composed against Wood's halfpence.

Since the days of the Irish Parliament of James II the coinage had remained in a state injurious to the well-being of the country. In 1724 the Lords of the Treasury granted a patent to William Wood, a large ironmaster, to coin £108,000 in halfpence and farthings. The Lords of the Treasury were within their powers in making this grant. But the opportunity was too good for Swift to miss. It was easy for him to show that Wood was about to receive a handsome profit. It was easy for him to show, as Molyneux had shown, that the Irish Parliament ought to have been the body to bestow such a grant. It was no less easy for him to insinuate that the halfpence were a fraud. He draws a picture of the two hundred

and fifty horses that will be required to bring up to Dublin the half-yearly rental of Squire Conolly. Indeed a halfpenny was of no more value than if he gave a man a pin from his sleeve. Did Swift believe the truth of the charges he was penning? Not for a moment. It suited him to discredit the Government, and any stick was good enough to beat its members with.

Sir Isaac Newton, the Master of the Mint, tested the coins of Wood and pronounced them better than the existing coins. What did that verdict matter to the Dean? His "Drapier Letters" were successful in their object. Wood lost his patent, and—a matter in which Swift had not the faintest interest—the Irish people lost their chance of gaining a proper coinage. In consequence Irish trade and agriculture languished, but that did not affect him. He had gained his way, he had inflicted a blow upon the Government, and with that the Irish trader and farmer ought to be content. Of a piece with this policy was his advice to burn everything that came from England save the coal. It never seemed to cross his brain that if we burnt everything save the coal, then John Bull might not send us his coal. For, to quote a homely maxim, two can play at that game. There were other and pressing grievances of the Irish, the Penal Laws, for example. These laws, however, never extracted a protest from him, though they inflicted more real hardship on the mass of the people than Wood's halfpence. And indeed he was a politician rather than a statesman. His mind, singularly acute and intelligent, was neither deep nor broad. In a cruel line Goldsmith wrote that Burke gave up to party what was meant for mankind. It is true of many Irish, and is especially true of Swift. The difference between Swift and Burke as writers is great: the former lives in history as an able intriguer; Burke as a king amongst men.

The tribunal of popular opinion had tried and condemned the halfpence. Five years before Swift intervened, another tribunal tried the case of Hester Sherlock and Maurice Annesley, who had a lawsuit for the possession of an estate. The details of the suit are insignificant; the principles lying behind them are significant. Annesley won his case in the Court of Exchequer, lost it in the Irish House of Lords, and then appealed to the English House of Lords which decided in his favour. The sheriff was one Alexander Burrowes, who felt that in the last resort the Parliament of his own country ought to be a final court of appeal. He therefore refused to execute the

decree placing Annesley in possession of the disputed property, and his reason was that in so doing he would be disobeying the House of Lords of his own land. He was fined twelve hundred pounds for his disobedience, and he appealed to the Irish House of Lords, which naturally supported his views. The Irish House of Lords then presented a protest to the English House of Lords, pleading powerfully on behalf of Burrowes. The views of the Irish peers met with a decisive rebuff in the Act of the sixth of George I, 1719, declaring the right of the English Parliament to legislate for Ireland and taking from the Irish House of Lords its ancient right to hear appeals. In spite of the opposition of Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, this declaratory Act readily passed. It is curious to reflect that the great imperialist statesman was the opponent to making the English House of Lords a supreme Court of Appeal, for it is now practically the final Court of Appeal for the whole British Empire. But Chatham's schemes, therein differing from those of his son, did not issue from his brain, like Pallas Athene, mature and complete.

There are signs that the agitation Swift brought to life never became altogether inanimate. One test is that the demand for seats in the House of Commons was more insistent. Another is that measures were proposed in 1719 and in 1733 for the relief of nonconformists excluded from the Lower House. But these measures met with the frank opposition of Primate Boulter, a man who wished to be considered as a statesman rather than as a Churchman. Another test is that the price of a seat was increasing. Under Poynings's Law the Irish Privy Council exercised complete power over legislation, for it had the option of transmitting, or not, of altering, or not, the heads of measures sent to it by Parliament. Members naturally disliked the large extent of the power assumed by the Privy Council, and one way of showing their independence was to place opposition to the Money Bills brought forward. In 1753 there was particularly keen opposition to the Money Bill granting Government supplies, with the result that the price of seats soared.

Of course we must bear in mind that down to the Octennial Bill of 1768 a Parliament lasted as long as the life of the King. In 1760 Adderley offered Lord Charlemont £600 to £800 for a seat. Strangely enough, after the measure of 1768, limiting the life of Parliament to eight years, the price of a seat rose to two thousand apiece. To the ideas of those days a seat was just as much private property as a commission in the army



was in the time of our grandfathers. In order to complete the tale of the sale of seats, it is worthy of notice that in 1800 the owners of eighty-four boroughs received £1,200,000 for them. This compensation was the value of the seats in open market, and the same price for the same class of seat was given to all alike, whether they opposed the Union or whether they favoured it. For example, Lord Downshire, who was a stout opponent of the Union, received the largest amount paid to the owner of a borough.

During the lifetime of the Irish Parliament the borough owners exacted a *quid pro quo*. Power and place belonged to them as of right. "Every man I see," commented the Earl of Buckinghamshire in 1779, "solicits peerage, privy council or pension." "Most Irish gentlemen," he wrote the same year to another personal correspondent, "enter my closet with a P in their mouths—Place, Pension, Peerage or Privy Council." In the end such men overreached themselves. For Lord Cornwallis, the Viceroy in 1798, there was no more cogent argument for the Union "than the overgrown Parliamentary power of five or six of our pampered boroughmongers, who are become most formidable to government by their long possession of the entire patronage of the Crown in their respective districts." Among the chief borough-owners were such great families as the Downshires, the Ponsonbys and the Shannons. These three families between them controlled over twenty-two seats, and their indirect influence was weighty. In 1800 Lord Downshire directly controlled seven seats; Lord Ely, six; the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Abercorn, Lord Belmore, Lord Clifden, Lord Granard and Lord Shannon, four seats apiece. Nor is this condition of affairs singular. It was every whit as common in England as in Ireland.

Swift had evoked public opinion in 1724, the contest over the Money Bill had evoked public opinion in 1753, and the people at large began to think that the place-holder counted far too much in the Parliament. Primate Stone inevitably came in for a share of disapproval, which precedes by ten years the campaign which John Wilkes skilfully engineered in London. Among its leaders was Anthony Malone, as leading an orator as he was a barrister, whose clear head and sweet tongue secured public attention for his judicial arguments. He is noteworthy, but not especially noteworthy, for his evasion of the working of the Penal Laws by holding the land of Roman Catholics on secret trust for them. In passing, we merely remark on the commonness of this practice. We have met



with twenty-six cases of it in the annals of county Clare alone. Only one Protestant landlord there violated the trust reposed in him, and he was speedily brought to account. The judges were hostile, systematically hostile, to all prosecuting suits under the Penal Code, and the expense of these suits deterred informers. Besides the eloquent Anthony Malone, there was another leader in the person of Dr. Samuel Lucas, who pleaded for the reform of Parliament and of the municipal corporations. Lucas was a cripple with only the poor position of a Dublin apothecary. He was courageous and industrious. He had the defects of his qualities. He was also vituperative and, unlike Malone, intolerant towards the Roman Catholics. Still, he had the gift of winning the ear of the people, and he cherished in his poor body sentiments that would have endeared him to Molyneux and Swift.

Lucas became the Wilkes of Dublin. In his resolute opposition to Poynings's Law he succeeded in securing the passing of a standing order in 1764, which points out that "no bill shall pass in this House until a committee of this House shall compare the transmiss [i.e. the copy returned by the English Privy Council] with the original heads of the Bill, and report if any and what alterations have been made therein to the House." One fact stands out, and that is that Malone and his men proved themselves every whit as ingenious in their work of parliamentary obstruction as C. S. Parnell himself.

There was poverty and there was prosperity during the first half of the eighteenth century, but there was less poverty than prosperity. There had been complaints of the licentiousness of the inhabitants from the earliest times, but there was no longer any reason for such complaints. It was one matter which Malachy selected for censure in his letter to Bernard of Clairvaux. It may very well be that the extent to which the Penal Laws had been enforced had purified the people. The matrimonial relationships of the O'Neills at the end of the sixteenth century had not horrified people either in the north or the south of Ireland; they certainly would have horrified them at the beginning of the eighteenth century. After all, purity is a foundation of prosperity. The love of music in general and of dancing in particular were everywhere, even in the cold north. Duelling and drinking were still common, but were becoming less so.

As in the Highlands of Scotland, there was a gradual extension of the roads. New canals connected the interior with the metropolis. Dublin was the heart of the country to a degree

which reminds one of Paris. It was the centre of the country in the south, east and west, but not of the north. Ulster, however, was still at a stage far removed from its present-day prosperity. Belfast was still little more than a large village nestling under the castle of the Chichesters; Dublin in 1750 had a population of one hundred thousand. Yet there was a certain amount of contact between the north and the south. There were laws against mixed marriages, but the great obstacle such laws encounter is human nature. Even in the United States, where the feeling against miscegenation runs so fiercely, there is a large mulatto population. There was indeed a racial division between the inhabitants of Ulster and those of the rest of the island, and unfortunately religion intervened to deepen this division. This division, however, must not be exaggerated. Compare the gulf which opened between the peasant and the peer in France with the gulf which opened between the same ranks in our country, and unquestionably it was far deeper in France. This is remarkable, for in France the peer and the peasant professed the same creed, whereas in Ireland they professed different creeds.

One cause of this is that, fortunately for us, though we felt the influence of Louis XIV among us, he himself never lived here. In France he attracted all peers by the magnet of Versailles. No future lay before any member of the noblesse unless he stopped continually at court. In Ireland, on the other hand, not a few of our nobility lived on their estates and were solicitous to improve the state of agriculture. Landlords in 1731 had founded the Royal Dublin Society for the purpose of devising experiments suitable for the betterment of agriculture and manufactures. The world-famous shows of horses and cattle, held every August at Ballsbridge, are a proof of the vitality which still persists in this early-eighteenth-century institution. The R.D.S. popularised new inventions, encouraged by premiums agricultural improvement, set up model farms and sent skilful instructors to teach the agriculturist how to develop his land to the best advantage. The Irish Parliament was not immaculate, still we ought to remember to its credit that it nobly assisted the plans of the R.D.S.

Our prosperity, however, suffered grievously by famines such as that of 1740-41 and by the malignant murrain which came to us from Russia, also in the forties. Famines were common in those days, and the Ireland of 1894-1914 has forgotten that the peasant now and then, even in good years

during the eighteenth century, lacked the staff of life, and that this lack was regarded as a matter of course.

The soil and the climate of Ireland suit pasturage far more than tillage, and one of the few happy effects of the Penal Laws was that they encouraged pasturage. These laws forbade a Roman Catholic taking a lease for land for a period longer than thirty-one years. If the magic of security turns land into gold, the lack of it does the very reverse. Why should any Roman Catholic employ tillage for this short period, especially as he had to pay tithe to the Church of Ireland for such land? Why should he not graze his land, especially as he had to pay no tithe on such land? Moreover, the murrain of the forties afflicted England just as grievously as Ireland. For example, in one English district in 1748 the prodigious number of eighty thousand head of cattle was slaughtered and one hundred and fifty thousand perished. There was therefore an urgent demand for beef in the sister-isle, and the Roman Catholic proceeded to supply this demand.

There is an evil aspect of this great change from tillage to pasturage. It was felt in the England of the sixteenth century, and it was felt in the Ireland of the eighteenth. For as fewer men are required to look after grazing than after crops, it is obvious that the change meant unemployment. It meant that there were superfluous men, and that these superfluous men must find employment. They sought this employment and they found it in the American colonies. These men, who were largely from the south and west, joined the artisans from the north on the other side of the Atlantic.

There were religious grievances and there were agrarian grievances. The Nonconformists naturally disliked paying tithes for the support of a Church to which they did not belong, and they resented their stricter enforcement. As in France, the roads were kept in repair by the farmers. The result was that the smaller farmers were compelled to give annually six days' free work of man and horse on road-making. They also suffered from the severe competition of the Roman Catholic peasantry, whose lower standard of living enabled them to offer higher rents. All these causes brought into existence the Steel Boys or Hearts of Steel. Their violence in the north was not, however, so great as that of the White Boys in the south. One reason of this is that they suffered less, and another that there was a way of escape. They could go to the colonies.

The industrial wrongs were very serious. The trade of a colony, like Ulster, was encouraged, provided that it did not



compete with the homeland; the moment this happened, the export, no matter how profitable it might be, must immediately cease. Hence the export of Irish unwrought iron was received with favour and that of wool with hostility. The national feeling of the statesman was supported in this instance by the private interest of the merchant. Naturally the English merchant rejoiced when he saw that he was able to keep the profitable colonial trade in his own hands. His Parliament permitted Ireland to export direct to England any sort of hemp, flax, thread, yarn and all kinds of linen duty-free, but for a long time all trade with America, except through Great Britain, was absolutely forbidden. Much was borne by the Irish Parliament of the late seventeenth century, for it had just passed through a vital struggle with James II and his ally, Louis XIV; but the danger was now past, and Parliament began to lift its head. There is an exact parallel to this in English history. The Parliament of Elizabeth was more submissive to her than it had been to Henry VIII. The danger of the Armadas of 1588 and 1596 came and went. Parliament breathed freely only when the fear of invasion died away. The Parliament of 1601 manifested a spirit different far from all its predecessors. Similarly, despite Poynings's Law, Parliament was raising its voice, determined some day that it should be heard.

There were spots on the sun. Still, we do well to remember that when Arthur Young paid his visit in 1776-8, he drew a pleasing picture of the good relations between the resident landlords and their large farmers. He thought that in the better parts of Ulster and in most counties of Leinster the humbler tillers of the soil were as thriving as their fellows in England. In his *Essai sur les Mœurs* Voltaire thus describes the Ireland of the Penal Laws. "Ce pays," he writes, "est toujours resté sous la domination de l'Angleterre, mais inculte, pauvre et inutile jusqu'à ce qu'enfin dans le dix-huitième siècle l'agriculture, les manufactures, les arts, les sciences, tout s'y est perfectionné, et l'Irlande, quoique subjuguée, est devenue une des plus florissantes provinces de l'Europe."



## CHAPTER X

### FROM REVOLUTIONS TO THE UNION

WHEN the Roundheads rebelled against Charles I, when the Whigs rebelled against James II, the contagion of rebellion spread to our shores. It is intelligible that when the Americans raised the standard of revolt this should also become contagious. The views of Molyneux, of Swift, of Malone and of Lucas were winning supporters. There was a growing restiveness against the industrial and the parliamentary restrictions. The parallel between the case of the thirteen colonies and that of Ireland was obvious. If there were harsh laws in the one land, there were also harsh laws in the other. If the Parliament of Westminster claimed supremacy over the colonial gatherings, it also claimed supremacy over the Dublin assembly. If there was an Irish Declaratory Act of 1719, the sixth of George I, there was also an American Declaratory Act of 1766 with the same purport as the measure of 1719. Besides, there was the community of blood. Many men from Ulster had emigrated to the colonies, and the views of kinsmen abroad possessed weighty influence over kinsmen at home.

In 1771 Benjamin Franklin visited Dublin and met leading members of our Parliament. "I found them," he tells us, "disposed to be friends of America, in which I endeavoured to confirm them with the expectation that our growing weight might in time be thrown into their scale, and by joining our interests with theirs a more equitable treatment from this nation [i.e. England] might be obtained for themselves as well as for us." Four years later the Americans, on the eve of their struggle, issued a special address to the Irish, urging the identity of the interests of the two peoples. That very year Chat-ham asserted that Ireland was with America "to a man." Therein he was mistaken. Ulster was with America on clear grounds, but the Roman Catholics evinced no sympathy with the colonists. In September 1776 a number of leading Roman Catholics presented an address in which they expressed their "abhorrence of the unnatural rebellion which has lately broken

out among some of his Majesty's American subjects." The loyalty of their communion they described as "unanimous, constant and unalterable." They spoke the truth when they said that it was "a loyalty which we may justly say is and always was as the dial to the sun, true, though not shone upon." In spite of the Penal Laws, they well knew these sentiments "to be those of all their fellow Roman Catholic subjects."

Though the Penal Laws were still on the Statute Book, we find towards the middle of the eighteenth century that large sections of them were obsolete. It was becoming common even in Ulster to find Mass-houses arising, and they had been common for some time in the rest of Ireland. Roman Catholic bishops and priests, monks and schoolmasters went about the country quite openly, though there was not supposed to be one of them in the four provinces. The American War stimulated the movement to liberty among us, and the Roman Catholics benefited by it. They were silently admitted into the British army. In 1774 they were allowed to attest their loyalty by taking, before a justice of the peace, the oath of allegiance, accompanied by a declaration stating that they renounced all allegiance to the Stewarts, repudiated the opinion that heretics might lawfully be murdered, that faith need not be kept with them, that excommunicated sovereigns may be deposed or murdered, and denied that the Pope had or ought to have any temporal authority within the realm. The bishops of Munster to a man supported this alteration, though the Congregation *De Propaganda Fide* censured them for their support because they had not first consulted the Vatican.

There is a clear connection between this alteration and the relaxing of the Penal Laws. They were fundamentally a political, not a religious, measure. The moment the need for their political aspect ceased their *raison d'être* also ceased. Besides, there was a tolerant feeling in the air. To use the words of Flood, "a voice from America had shouted liberty." In 1778 the lease of a Roman Catholic of his land was extended from thirty-one years to 999. It was a signal change, for land was the symbol of political power. On this ground it had outwardly been taken from them, and this change meant some day the restoration of political power to them. On this ground indeed Lord Charlemont and Henry Flood were firmly opposed to it, while Edmund Burke and Henry Grattan were no less firmly fighting for it. Burke emptied the English House of Commons when he rose to speak; Grattan filled both the Eng-

lish and the Irish Houses of Commons the moment he rose to his feet. Burke possessed matter without influence, while Grattan possessed both matter and influence. The same love of liberty glowed in the breast of both orators. Did not Grattan believe that "the Irish Protestant could never be free till the Irish Catholic ceased to be a slave"? There was truth, deep truth, in the contention, for the attitude of some Protestants to their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen did not differ greatly from that of a Southern planter to his slave. As Ireland anticipated England in the art of stirring up public opinion, so she anticipated England in the policy of toleration. In 1780 the English Parliament offered to the Roman Catholic the same boon that the Irish Parliament had offered in 1778, and the outcome was the Gordon riots.

There is only one liberty, and it is liberty of conscience. All other forms of liberty are its offspring. "*Quand on commence à douter en religion,*" Chateaubriand acutely points out, "*on doute en politique. L'homme qui cherche les fondements de son culte ne tarde pas à s'enquérir des principes de son gouvernement. Quand l'esprit demande à être libre, le corps aussi veut l'être. Cela est une conséquence toute naturelle.*" This perfectly natural result was aided by the circumstances of the American War of Independence. American privateers threatened our coasts, which were defenceless, for our soldiers were fighting those of Washington. In 1760 the Frenchman Thurot had landed at Carrickfergus, and the citizens of Belfast had organised themselves in their own defence. Here was a precedent. As if by magic the people flew to arms in 1778. Leading landlords, such as Lord Charlemont, Lord Altamont and the Duke of Leinster, appeared at the head of bodies of their tenants. The movement of these volunteers was a Protestant one, though the Roman Catholics subscribed liberally to the equipment of these troops.

Arms, however, in the hands of subjects always constitute a danger to the central executive. Obviously when the executive is unable to defend the country, it is weak, deplorably weak. True, the American War was unprecedented. Still, there was the obvious fact that the colonists in America were demanding freedom at the point of the bayonet. Might not the example spread? Might it not notably spread when we remember that many of the volunteers had relatives fighting on the side of the Americans? There was an occasion for rising in defence of their country, and there was also an occasion for rising in defence of themselves. Not only was there



an occasion: there was also a cause. There were grievances in trade. In 1776 appeared one of those epoch-making books which are as great in the world of thought as they are in the world of action. Unlike most works of this class, the effects of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* were felt at once. One of the main ideas in his book is the measured denunciation of restrictions in industry. The Volunteers had felt that they were right in demanding free trade, and now they knew that they were right. What Molyneux had argued in 1698, Swift argued in 1720. What Swift had argued in 1720, Lucas argued in 1764. What Lucas argued in 1764, Flood argued in 1780. The practical arguments of forty thousand Volunteers taught the Protestants to feel what these men had taught them to think.

The War of 1914-18 demonstrated the connection between liberty—in some cases licence—at home and conflict abroad. The history of Ireland in the eighth decade of the eighteenth century affords another instance. The Volunteers were loyal and law-abiding, but they were quite determined to assert their rights. In 1778 the Dublin Volunteers celebrated as usual the anniversary of the birthday of William III by marching round his monument. Beside it were two cannon with the legend inscribed, "Free trade—or this." In 1780 instead of "this," they received free trade. They were allowed to export their woollen manufactures and their glass freely. They were also allowed to export directly all goods to British settlements in America and Africa, and to become members of the Turkey Company, and to carry on trade directly between Ireland and the Levant Sea. The connection between liberty of conscience and other forms of liberty was once more made plain. In 1780 the Nonconformists were no longer required to comply with the odious sacramental test. Religious liberty reacted on political, with the result that the demand for the independence of the Irish Parliament grew increasingly strong. The forty thousand Volunteers of 1780 had swollen to the eighty thousand of 1782. Yorktown fell that year, and between the fall of Yorktown and the rise of the Irish Parliament there is an intimate bond.

On February 15, 1782, the delegates of 143 corps of Ulster Volunteers met in Dungannon Parish Church. They insisted on their right to the independence of their Parliament, the repeal of Poynings's Law, the relaxation of the Penal Code, and free trade. The North had spoken with no uncertain voice, and the North meant what she said. Her demands were embodied in the moving speech which Grattan delivered on



April 16. The sixth of George I, Poynings's Law, and the perpetual Mutiny Act, placing the Irish army outside the control of the Irish Parliament, were all repealed in 1782. "I am now," Grattan said, "to address a free people; ages have passed away, and this is the first moment in which you could be distinguished by that appellation. Spirit of Swift! Spirit of Molyneux! your genius has prevailed. Ireland is now a nation! In that new character I hail her! and, bowing to her august presence, I say, *esto perpetua*." The free people of course meant the Protestants only, just as the American Declaration of Rights meant the white men only.

The triumph of 1782 was due to Henry Flood and to Henry Grattan, yet posterity calls the new body Grattan's Parliament. And posterity is right. The spirit in which Grattan approached the formation of the new body is clear in his remark, "I am desirous above all things, next to the liberty of my country, not to accustom the Irish to an alien or suspicious habit with regard to Great Britain." There was much in common between the political objects of Flood and Grattan. Both ardently desired the repeal of Poynings's Law, both were anxious for the relaxation of the Penal Laws, both worked for the placing of the Irish army under the Irish Parliament, and both were devoted to the cause of free trade. For a time they worked together as two incorruptible statesmen, but they separated. Flood disliked the American revolt as much as Grattan, in some respects, liked it. The former wanted to continue the organisation of the Volunteers, the latter to discontinue it. Their old friendship was turned into rivalry. Grattan was never democratic. He was firmly persuaded, to quote his last words, that "the people of this country should not look for a democratic government; they are not fit for it."

Two or three mistakes—they were no more—undermined the reputation of Flood. He had indeed laboured, but it was reserved for Grattan to enjoy the fruits of his labours. Both men were singularly attractive in private life. In public life Flood was ungenerous, while Grattan was generous. Flood shone more as a debater than as an orator. Grattan, on the other hand, shone more as an orator than as a debater. The eloquence of Flood was as austere as that of Grattan was imaginative. Grattan gave the results of his reasoning in his speeches, while Flood gave the processes by which he arrived at his results. The graceful delivery of the latter contrasted with the ungraceful delivery of the former. Influential as both men were, the power of Grattan's oratory, like Washington's,

was eminently due to moral causes, the purity of his character, the devotion of his patriotism. The influence of Flood's eloquence, like Mirabeau's, was dimmed by the dissipation of his early life. Both entered the English House of Commons as well as the Irish. But in Westminster Grattan was as conspicuous a success as Flood was a conspicuous failure. The verdict of Grattan on Dean Kirwan is the verdict of history on Flood: "The curse of Swift was upon him, to have been born an Irishman and a man of genius, and to have used his talents for his country's good."

It is time to survey the Parliament of which Grattan and Flood were two of the most outstanding leaders. Was it a sovereign body with complete control over its executive? It was nothing of the kind. Though Poynings's Law had been repealed in 1782, for all practical purposes it still existed. The legislation of the Irish Parliament was as much controlled after 1782 as before that date. The English Ministry still appointed the Irish executive. In this respect, and in this respect alone, the new Constitution resembled that of the United States, of France in the time of the Second Republic, and of the German Empire down to 1918. In other respects it in no wise resembled the constitution of the United States, for in the last resort there lay the authority of Westminster. In spite of Grattan's speech, "*esto perpetua*" was an impossibility, and as a matter of fact it lasted only eighteen years. Besides, all the members were Protestants, and down to 1793 a Roman Catholic had not even a vote. Out of 117 Irish boroughs no less than 106 were controlled by their owners, leaving only eleven independent seats. If the Roman Catholic had no influence, how much had the average Protestant, seeing he could only influence eleven elections!

The new Parliament walked worthily of the traditions of the Parliament of 1778. In January 1793 Roman Catholic farmers of lands worth forty shillings a year were given the franchise. It was a great measure of reform. The pity was that it was not accompanied by the measure that ought to have supplemented it. For the Roman Catholic was not allowed till 1829 to return members of his own communion to Parliament. Inevitably Protestant demagogues obtained his suffrages, and this of course proved of lasting loss to the land. A tradition was set, and this tradition was a fatal one. In 1793 Roman Catholics were also given the power to become magistrates and petty and grand jurors, to carry arms when possessed of property of a certain value, and to enter the professions. Prac-

tically, the social disadvantages of Roman Catholics were removed. As the American War had helped them in 1778, so the French Revolutionary War helped them now.

The Penal Code began in 1692 and practically ended in 1793, lasting just over a hundred years. It was not an unique code. All Roman Catholic countries could readily show a more stringent code against Protestants. It is clear that the Penal Laws prevented Roman Catholics from possessing a respect for the law. If they had a grievance, its redress must be sought in courts where all the members of the jury, the solicitors, the barristers and all the judges were Protestants. True, the judges, for example, were just men, but it was hard for the Roman Catholics to believe it. The outcome was that respect for law was not in the nature of the Roman Catholics. The authority of religion was opposed to the authority of law, and it was a fatal opposition. The professions were closed to the Roman Catholics; so too were the industries. How were they to develop either energy of character or enterprise of mind? Besides, many of them emigrated to Europe, just as the Huguenots emigrated to our islands and to America. These men who left our shores were men of character and conduct, of energy and enterprise. There were few left who could transmit to succeeding generations with unweakened force the fine qualities they possessed.

The difficulty, nay the impossibility, of enforcing the Penal Laws is obvious from the fact that the majority of the people were opposed to them. Persecution cannot be stringent when the bulk of the inhabitants passively resist it. Some men hunted priests, but the mob in turn hunted them. Bishops and priests remained in Ireland with the full cognisance of the Government. Did not William III allow priests to come, telling Leopold of Austria that he was ready to receive them? Did he not also allow three Roman Catholic bishops to remain at Waterford, Cork and Galway respectively? Land, in spite of the Penal Code, by the steady connivance of the Protestant gentry, remained in the hands of the Roman Catholics.

Now, it is certain that our Penal Laws kept back the second-class and the third-class man in the race of life. Did they keep back the first-class man, the man of genius? Of course they did not help him, and they certainly hindered him. The truth is that no laws can ever permanently hinder the man of the highest ability. The Jews have been persecuted for a far longer period than the Irish, yet this race has produced its share of men of genius. Poland has undergone persecution after



persecution, still her men of science, her *littérateurs*, her great musicians, have unfailingly appeared. North Italy groaned under the yoke of Austria, but in spite of this her poets and musicians, her men of science and her men of learning, are remarkable during the first half of the nineteenth century. There has been no persecution of the Roman Catholic Irish in the United States, and yet has there been an outstanding man produced among them? On the other hand, the men of the Ulster Scots breed have produced man after man who has left his mark on the great Western Republic.

The bead-roll of Ulster we have considered before. It is interesting to compile here a bead-roll of the other three provinces. As statesmen we find in the ranks of the Roman Catholics such names as Daniel O'Connell and B. O'Higgins. As soldiers we find such names in the service of France as Lord Clare, Dillon and Lally Tollendal, in the service of Austria the names of Browne, Maguire, De Lacy, Nugent and O'Donnell, in the service of Russia another Browne and another De Lacy, and in the service of Spain O'Hara, O'Neill, O'Reilly, O'Mahony and another O'Donnell. In diplomacy we find such names as yet another De Lacy, another O'Mahony, Wall and Tyrconnel, who was French Ambassador at the Court of Berlin. As men of letters we find such names as Thomas Moore, William Carleton and Clarence Mangan. As statesmen we find in the ranks of the Protestants such names as Edmund Burke, Henry Grattan, Richard Brinsley Sheridan and C. S. Parnell. As soldiers we find the Duke of Wellington, Sir William Napier, Sir Eyre Coote, Lord Gough, Lord Wolseley and Lord Roberts. As scholars we find such names as Archbishop Ussher, Hincks, Jebb and Lecky, and as scientists Robert Boyle, whose law is well known, the Quains, the anatomists and medical writers, Sir William Rowan Hamilton, J. Tyndall, Sir G. G. Stokes, Sir R. Ball, G. F. Fitzgerald, G. Salmon and H. J. S. Smith, whose fame stands so high. In metaphysics there is the name of George Berkeley. As men of letters we find such names as Sir John Denham, Richard Steele, Thomas Parnell, Jonathan Swift, Laurence Sterne, Oliver Goldsmith, Sir Philip Francis, Edmund Malone, Maria Edgeworth, J. W. Croker, S. Lover, C. Lever, Edward Fitzgerald, O. Wilde and E. Dowden.

The reconciling force of literature is amazing. Take an instance. Sir Walter Scott writes :

"Breathes there a man with soul so dead,  
Who never to himself hath said,  
This is my own, my native land?"



These lines describe the love of a Highlander for Scotland, but Scott's own patriotism is as much British as Scots. We never had a man of genius of this embracing order. Scott, too, described his native land so that English love it as much as Scots. It is a tribute to him that English no more think of Bannockburn as a defeat than Scots think of Culloden as a defeat by a hated foe. Alas ! we so still regard on one side the Boyne and on the other Benburb.

From literature we turn to life. Ireland had been dragged into the contests which Philip II and Louis XIV had waged, and she was now to be dragged into the contest which Napoleon was beginning to wage. In the two former wars she had thrown in her lot with the foes of freedom ; now she threw in her lot with the friends of freedom. In the metropolis there stands a monument erected to Nelson, the greatest sailor we ever possessed, and another to Wellington, who ranks next to Marlborough. It is right that these two monuments should stand in Dublin, for Ireland, despite the Rebellion of 1798, gave of her best in the twenty-two years' practically ceaseless struggle, from 1793 to 1815, with the greatest genius in war this earth has ever known.

It is right that we should commemorate our Nelsons and our Wellingtons. It is, however, certain that they could not have carried on their war for well-nigh a generation had it not been for the inventors who made the Industrial Revolution possible, thereby supplying the sinews of war. The roll of honour from 1760 to 1785 in the world of business includes men like Brindley, Watt, Roebuck, Hargreaves, Crompton, Arkwright, Cartwright and Wedgwood. They made England the great industrial nation she is. As she turned so decisively to manufactures, she wanted bread. In the days before the application of steam to transport, she had to apply to us. From this point of view a modest place on the roll of honour of the men who won the Napoleonic Wars may be accorded to John Foster.

We have seen that in the early part of the eighteenth century we changed our agriculture from the tillage stage to the pasturage. Now this whole process was reversed. For in 1784 Foster passed his Corn Law, a measure which vitally affected the destinies of our land from that day to this. It was this law which called into being the stately Custom House which until the other day adorned Dublin. It was this law which called into being the mills which dot the land, ruined through the passing of Free Trade in 1846. It was this law

which called into being a large population for the first time in Ireland. In 1784 the population was two millions, and in 1800 it was four millions. That is, population doubled in less than a generation. Tribal contests at home, wars abroad, disease and famine, had always reduced our numbers to small proportions. Now there were no tribal conflicts at home, and disease and famine were much less than they had been.

Foster's great Corn Law granted a bounty of 3*s.* 4*d.* a barrel on the export of wheat as long as the home price was not above 27*s.* a barrel, and it imposed a duty of 10*s.* a barrel on imported wheat when the home price was less than 30*s.* It also granted bounties on the exportation of flour, barley, rye, oats and peas. The result of this measure was that the bullock disappeared in large measure, and was replaced by the plough. Vast pasture-lands were converted into innumerable small tillage-farms. Beside every stream there was a corn-mill, and the air hummed with the motion of the mill-wheel. One fact speaks eloquently. The quantity of corn, meal and flour exported in twelve years after the passing of the measure exceeded that which was exported in the eighty-four years that preceded it.

Wellington's men in the Peninsula benefited by Foster's Corn Law, for cargoes of corn, oats for the cavalry and transport horses, salt meat for the men, shoes for their feet, all came from Ireland. Nor did Ulster lag behind. She was to the front with her contribution of men and material. In the Napoleonic Wars she supplied the linen for the use of the soldier just as she did in the War of 1914-18. It is noteworthy that in the war just over the fine linen of Belfast went to the perfecting of the wings of the aeroplane. Our share in the great conflict at the end of the eighteenth century was in no wise confined to material. Our population was no more than two millions in 1793 and was only over four in 1815, yet out of these small numbers we sent from 1793 to 1815 no less than a hundred and fifty thousand Irishmen to the front, and we also sent the greatest of them all, the Duke of Wellington. From 1793 to 1795 from one-third to one-half of the total forces raised by the United Kingdom were Irish. As for the fame they achieved, let the names of Badajoz and of Barrosa and of Waterloo speak for them.

There is another side to this picture. Foster's Corn Law conferred great and growing prosperity on the farmer. But we must not forget that though there was no tithe on pasture-land,

there was a tithe on tillage. In the days of adversity the Roman Catholic bore his wrongs meekly; now that he was making money he bore them resentfully. It is natural. The French farmer was badly treated by Louis XIV and Louis XV, and he was well treated by Louis XVI, but it was against Louis XVI he rebelled. A revolt never takes place when men are downtrodden. But it takes place when they have been downtrodden and are emerging from that condition. There was no Irish Rebellion in 1778 when the Penal Laws were unmitigated, but there was a Rebellion in 1798 when there was scarcely such a law on the Statute Book.

There was a Parliament, and of course it existed to redress grievances. Henry Grattan could never have won the independence of this Parliament if he had not had the support of the free-trade resolutions, such as that passed by the Belfast Town Council in 1779. It is easy to understand the devotion of the Belfast people to their Parliament. It gave them a measure of free trade, and thus restored some of their old prosperity. Manufactures were no longer hampered to the same extent. There were other reasons at work. An aristocrat like Lord Charlemont dreaded the Union, because he knew that it would ruin the interests of his order. Such a measure must inevitably promote absenteeism, the weakening of the ties that then existed between the Ulster landlord and his tenant. Charlemont, the "General" of the Volunteers, was a bigoted Protestant, opposed to Roman Catholic emancipation. When the Volunteers met at Dungannon in order to demand a free Parliament, they met within the walls of a Protestant church. Their first aim was free trade, but did they want a union of creeds? Did they want the supremacy of the Roman Catholic voter? The Presbyterians were no more anxious than members of the Church of Ireland to extend the franchise to Roman Catholics. There were rifts within the lute.

The American Revolution was the occasion of the Volunteer movement, while the French Revolution was the occasion of the United Irish movement. Its leaders were Ulstermen or Anglo-Irish, just as the leaders of the 1798 Rebellion were Ulstermen or Anglo-Irish—Wolfe Tone, Henry Joy McCracken and Lord Edward FitzGerald. In the northern metropolis and its neighbourhood Paine's *Rights of Man* was so popular that Wolfe Tone called it the Koran of Blefescu (i.e. Belfast). If there was any reality in the cry for liberty, equality and fraternity, the claims of the Roman Catholics could not be



ignored. The problem was how to reconcile the radicalism of the majority of the Nonconformists with the revolutionary republicanism of the minority of the United Irish Society. It was solved by confiding the secrets of the latter body to a select number. Wolfe Tone never succeeded in gaining the ear of the Belfast men, who shrank not only from his efforts to bring about independence but also from the notion of equality with the Roman Catholics. They desired no more than a gradual enfranchisement, one not more rapid than "the circumstances of the country and the general welfare of the whole kingdom" would allow. As they came to understand the projects of their leaders, and as they saw with horror the execution of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette and the Reign of Terror, they drew back. The danger of a French invasion combined with the atrocities of the 1798 Rebellion dissolved the temporary union of Protestants and Roman Catholics. Republicanism was superseded by loyalty. Local troubles with the Roman Catholics in Armagh called into activity the Orangemen, an essentially democratic institution. They became "convinced of the necessity of an incorporation of the two kingdoms which by delivering them from a dependent independence had removed the danger of a rupture between them."

Another incident was to suggest to Pitt that the existence of two Parliaments was fraught with grave complications. Strive as one may, it is difficult to provide for all the possible conflicts of jurisdiction. The character of George III was to provide one such conflict. We have had kings as mischievous as John, as cruel as Mary I, yet a king like George III, because he was narrow, because he lacked imagination, probably did us more harm than either John or Mary. For one matter is due to him, and that is the loss of our American colonies. Yet another matter is due to him, and that is the failure to satisfy the claims of Ireland at a time when there was grace in the satisfaction. In 1788 the homely sovereign went mad. The English Parliament thought that its members were entitled to choose the Regent. Of course the man to become Regent was the Prince of Wales, who was a detestable man. At once the Irish Parliament appointed him Regent, with the result that it was possible to have one prince Regent in Ireland and another prince Regent in England. Pitt could not help thinking that if the executive were under the control of the Irish Parliament these opportunities for conflict would be greatly multiplied. Danger had displayed itself, and was it



not probable that this danger might be a growing one? As the anxieties of the war with France pressed weightily on Pitt, he also saw difficulties here too. Fortunately for the conduct of this life-and-death struggle, the members displayed just as much patriotism as even the soul of Pitt desired.

When Wolfe Tone found that he was unable to carry the North with him in a whole-hearted support of his plans, he set out for France and met Carnot, the organiser of victory, in 1796. To him Tone held out hopes of a rising in Ireland provided it were supported by the might of France. "I am like Hannibal," comments Tone in his remarkable diary, "supplicating his aid to enable Carthage to make war upon the Romans." And indeed, had it not been for the winds of Heaven, he might have been as fatal an antagonist to England as Hannibal was to Rome. The character of Tone was an extraordinary one. In his breast the animating motive was hatred of England, not love of Ireland. Herein he resembled Parnell. His hates were comprehensive. He hated the Irish Parliament, he hated the Irish gentry, he hated the Whig Club, and, above all, he hated England. The Duke of Wellington thought Tone's *Memoirs* one of the most interesting documents he had ever read, and in these *Memoirs* Tone confesses that he had offered his services to Pitt in order to establish a military colony in the South Sea, that Pitt had refused this offer, and that therefore he threw himself into his attitude of implacable antagonism towards everything English. Yet was his attitude implacable? For even after he was leading plots, he himself tells us that he was prepared to abandon Irish conspiracies if Pitt would provide him with a position in the East Indies.

The fierce zeal of Tone impressed Carnot, and Hoche was appointed the Commander-in-Chief of the expedition to Ireland. As St. Ruth had the experience of his war against the Camisards, so Hoche had the experience of his war against the Vendéans. A private soldier at sixteen, Hoche was a general at twenty-six, and was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable of that brilliant band of generals which the French Revolution produced. It is not a little curious that one of his biographers compares his feelings to England with those of Hannibal to Rome, for Wolfe Tone had the same parallel in his mind. This parallelism might be pushed far, for in character the two men were alike. They were young, they were ardent, and they were intensely sanguine. "To-day is my birthday," Tone writes on June 20, 1796; "I am thirty-three years old. At that age Alexander had conquered the world;

at that age Wolfe had completed his reputation and expired in the arms of Victory. Well, it is not my fault if I am not as great a man as Alexander or Wolfe. I have as good dispositions for glory as either of them, but I have to labour under two obstacles at least—want of talents and want of opportunities ; neither of which, I confess, I can help.”

His great opportunity almost came in December 1796, when the expedition sailed. When Lord Acton was asked the moment when England stood in gravest danger, he replied that it was when Fulton offered to use steam in order to convey the French flotilla in 1805 from Boulogne to England. Yet there was another moment of grave danger, and that was when Hoche and Tone came so near to success. Fourteen thousand troops sailed in the fleet commanded by Morard de Galles and Bouvet, though there was not a member of the Irish Brigade among this number. This was due to the fact that the Irish in France were Royalists. At first there were favouring winds, and the French fleet successfully evaded the attentions of the British. So successful was this evasion that for sixteen days after Morard de Galles sailed, Lord Spencer, the First Lord of the Admiralty, had not heard of it.

The good fortune of the French ceased as they approached the Irish coast. A fog sprang up which was as disastrous to the expedition as the storm was to the Armada of 1596. Hoche sailed in the ship of the Admiral, Morard de Galles, and his ship was missing when the rest of the fleet arrived in Bantry Bay. Grouchy, in spite of the legend attributing to him indecision, implored Bouvet to disembark his soldiers. Bouvet was afraid to assume responsibility, and returned to Brest without landing. Dublin Castle breathed in safety ; for the risks, had Hoche landed, would have been terrible. Against fourteen thousand trained French soldiers there was nothing to oppose them but the local Yeomanry and Militia. There was some fear on account of the quality of our army, but there was little fear on account of our people. True, there was discontent with the tithe, which pressed severely on the poor cottier, who felt the oppression of the tithe proctor. True, too, rents had been raised under the influence of Foster's Corn Law. The extra war-rents and the extra war-prices bore as severely on people then as our war-rents and war-prices to-day. The grievances were at bottom economic, and, on account of the United Irishmen, parliamentary reform and the removal of the Penal Laws counted but little with the mass of the people. There was then discontent, but it was only

smouldering. In the south during the Hoche crisis the inhabitants remained loyal. Dr. Moylan, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, issued during the crisis a very loyal address which quieted his flock.

In the five years since the war with France broke out, the home situation was gradually changing. War crystallises issues. So it was in Ireland. The schism in the United Irishmen was deepened. The feelings of hostility of the Protestants who had originally formed it were altering under the stress of circumstance. A body which originally arose in the north and spread to the south, called the Defenders, was refusing to pay either rent or tithe. The Orange Institution in Ulster was beginning to range itself on the side of the Government. As this Institution stood increasingly aloof from the United Irishmen, the latter turned to the Defenders. The common bond between the Defenders and the United Irishmen was slight. The former were anxious for the removal of economic grievance aggravated by the war, and the latter were anxious for the removal of political grievances. Had it not been for the economic troubles, the power of the United Irishmen would not have proved serious. These troubles decidedly enhanced their opportunity for devising mischief.

Between the Rebellion of 1798 and that of 1641 there exists a parallelism. In both outbreaks there is a certain element of unexpectedness, the vague hope on the part of the plotters that the country would rise, the same plan of seizing Dublin Castle, the same trust in French aid, the same division among the leaders, the same absorption of England in a war of its own, the same religious influences at work, the same treachery on the part of the conspirators, and the same tale of intimidation and murder. There are also differences between them. The massacres of the 1641 Rebellion had been largely in the north; those of the 1798 Rebellion were largely in the south. Instead of the two feeble lords justices, there was the strong Lord Clare, who acted with that promptitude which was in keeping with his arrogant character. Unfortunately for the future of the country, he had to rely on the Yeomanry, who were staunch Protestants, and this imported a religious flavour to the rising.

A would-be Lafayette, Lord Edward FitzGerald, was to lead the insurrection in the middle of May, and his name exercised an extraordinary spell over the peasantry. Thomas Davis's poem "The Spirit of the Nation" sets forth admirably the influence of this pride in the ancient gentry in general and in



the Geraldines in particular. But FitzGerald was betrayed by one of his own followers, and the leaders lost the use of the magic of his name. There were widespread and revolting excesses in the south, to which the rising was confined. The United Irish government had created a reign of terror, and the cruelties of the Yeomanry—all staunch Protestants—were the reply to it. The United Irishmen established an army of their own, seduced the army of the Government by persuasion and by threats, intimidated juries, kidnapped and murdered witnesses, and in short set up an anarchic sway which reminds us forcibly of the régime inaugurated by the French Committee of Public Safety in 1793. The tragedy is that violence begets violence, murder begets reprisals, and so the bloody circle revolves.

The disarming of the rebels was entrusted to the Yeomanry. They burned and sacked houses and they tortured men in their search for arms. There were no regular troops in Wicklow and Wexford, and in these two counties the rising assumed its acutest form. Father John Murphy, curate of Boulavogue, near Gorey, gathered four thousand men at the Hill of Oulart, near Enniscorthy. Colonel Foote with a hundred men of the North Cork Militia advanced against this odds, and was of course beaten. When odds are forty to one they are too serious to be taken. Foote's defeat put heart into the rebels, and they advanced against Enniscorthy, capturing it. Such success swelled their numbers to seven thousand, and they established their headquarters on Vinegar Hill. Division of aim ruined the scanty chance of success. One had seen the destruction of his farm, another had witnessed the burning of his house, and yet another had been obliged to note the insults bestowed on his wife and daughter. A commander to dominate the rebels was the need for the moment, but Father Murphy was not such a commander. Still, they pursued their career of capture, taking Wexford, Gorey and New Ross.

There are tragic places in Ireland, but we know of none so tragic as Vinegar Hill, for there some of the most savage deeds of the Rebellion were perpetrated. As Cromwell mistakenly regarded the defenders of Drogheda as the men who had massacred his co-religionists, so the rebels mistakenly regarded the Protestants they captured. Four hundred Protestants were massacred on its slopes. If there are evil memories attaching to Vinegar Hill, what are we to say of those attaching to Scullabogue Barn? For it attains the same melancholy prominence in this Rebellion as Portadown attains in that of



1641. At Scullabogue Barn 184 Protestant men, women and children were burned to death; around the barn were posted guards who forced the victims, trying to escape, to return to the blazing building. One little child was escaping when a rebel saw it, ran a pike into it, and hurled it into the flames.

Ulstermen wanted restrictions on their trade removed, while Munstermen and Leinstermen wanted restrictions on their land removed. For a brief season the North and the South united, not so much because their aims were common as because their enemy was common. There was a union of heads, not a union of hearts. And in life a union of hearts is vastly more far-reaching than a union of heads. Sentiments are more powerful than interests. True, Lord Clare had enforced martial law in Ulster. But the massacres made all the difference. They aroused all the old racial and religious feeling between Ulster and Munster, and the temporary alliance between them vanished from that day to this.

Flushed by their success the rebels advanced to county Wicklow, and even threatened the capital. But in the meantime General Needham had been collecting troops and at Arklow he defeated the enemy. General Lake attacked and captured Vinegar Hill, and Enniscorthy and Wexford fell before his victorious arms. The Rebellion was over and no French aid had arrived. It had almost arrived in 1796, when it was too soon. It was to arrive in August 1798, when it was too late. Napoleon had an instinctive knowledge of the time when the pear was ripe, but such knowledge was not shared by the Directory. He, however, went east when he ought to have gone west. It was the old mistake of Louis XIV, and it was committed once again by Napoleon. In St. Helena he had time for reflection, and he reflected: "On what do the destinies of Empire hang? If instead of the expedition to Egypt I had made one to Ireland, if slight diverging circumstances had not thrown obstacles in the way of my Boulogne enterprise, what would England have been to-day? and the Continent? and the political world?" It is certain that his plans for the invasion of England were doomed to failure; but is it so certain that his plans for the invasion of Ireland were doomed to failure?

On his return to France, Hoche had pressed the Directory to undertake another expedition to our shores, but his early death combined with the defeat of the Dutch fleet off Camperdown threw the French authorities into a state of hesitancy. Still, it was evident that our land afforded an opportunity of

attacking the English in the rear. Accordingly a feeble attempt was made under the command of Humbert. He, like Hoche, was a young man and, like him, had served in La Vendée. But, instead of the fourteen thousand men sent with Hoche, he had merely 1,017 men and 18 officers. Five days after the battle of the Nile, that is on August 6, 1798, the tiny squadron sailed, arriving in Killala Bay on the night of the 21st. None of the gentry and but few of the farmers joined the French forces. At the Races of Castlebar, Humbert surprised General Hutchinson and his raw men, and their flight justified the title of the skirmish. Eight hundred Frenchmen had beaten four thousand British. What would not Hoche's fourteen thousand have accomplished? The Races of Castlebar are a sufficient answer. General Lake urged Lord Cornwallis to hasten reinforcements, and Lord Cornwallis proved as prompt as Lord Clare. At Ballinamuck the French were obliged to surrender to superior forces.

Wolfe Tone was captured at Lough Swilly and was court-martialled as a rebel. His counsel, Curran, urged that Tone held no commission from George III, and therefore no court-martial had authority to try Tone. But he was an Irish subject, and his French commission could not save him from the sentence of hanging. On the morning fixed for his execution an application was made to the Irish King's Bench for a writ of habeas corpus. All the judges loathed the rebels, and they could entertain no doubt of the guilt of Tone. Had he not appeared in court arrayed in French uniform? When called on to plead, he had cried out "Guilty! for I have never during my life stooped to a prevarication." The Lord Chief Justice, Lord Kilwarden, ordered the preparation of a writ of habeas corpus at once. Curran objected that his client might die while the writ was being prepared. Lord Kilwarden thereupon stopped the preparations for the execution. In the meantime Tone tried to commit suicide, and died from the effects of his wound. In spite of the eloquent lines of Dr. Ingram, there are not a few events in 1798 of which we fear to speak, but the splendid conduct of the Irish Court of the King's Bench is not one of them.

Pitt was still struggling with his desperate conflict with Napoleon. He could not afford to be hampered by the risk of danger and by danger itself in Ireland. "Ireland in its present state," wrote an observer, "will pull down England. She is a ship on fire, and must either be cast off or extinguished." Pitt had tried to improve Irish trade by his Commercial Pro-

positions, and had failed. Scotland had prospered since the Union of 1707, and why should not Ireland? Pitt was desirous to maintain the improvement in the condition of the Roman Catholics, and this was very difficult to carry out in an utterly Protestant Parliament. There was the continual danger of a clash between the two Parliaments. The Regency question of 1788 had enforced this risk. Besides, the Roman Catholic question was always a trouble. The prelates of this communion, Archbishop Troy of Dublin, Dr. Moylan of Cork, the Archbishop of Cashel, and Bishop Caulfield, promoted the Union of 1800 to the utmost of their power, "discreetly" employing their influence with their flocks for this purpose. The statesmanship of Castlereagh, whose reputation is steadily growing, was actively supporting the Union which Pitt now eagerly desired. On the other hand, Ulster and some bishops of the Church of Ireland, Dickson of Down and Marlay of Waterford, exerted themselves against the measure in the most vigorous fashion. To-day the whole situation is reversed. For the then supporters of the Union are now its antagonists, while the old antagonists of the Union are now its staunch supporters.

In 1800 the Irish House of Lords was abolished, and Ireland was represented in the English House by 28 Peers elected for life and by 4 Prelates of the Church of Ireland. The Irish House of Commons was also abolished, and returned 100 members to the English House. The Established Church was to be permanently maintained, and the tithes still remained. Trade in raw products was made more free than before. Ireland was to contribute two-seventeenths to the national expenditure. The pity was that in consequence of the conscientious objections of George III there was no attempt to introduce Roman Catholics into Parliament, and there was no attempt to remove the tithe. The blame for this does not rest with Pitt, but it does rest with George III, whose ill-regulated conscience inflicted harm upon our Empire and upon our land, and from this harm we to this day suffer.

Grattan had greeted the birth of the Irish Parliament of 1782; he grieved over its death. "I watched by its cradle," he mournfully remarked; "I followed its hearse." He was afraid that the change might damage both Ireland and England. "You have," he told Lord Russell, "swept away our Constitution; you have destroyed our Parliament; but we shall have our revenge. We will send into the ranks of your Constitution a hundred of the greatest rascals in the kingdom." Near the

end of his life in 1819 he uttered these words : " With respect to the subject of the Union that has been alluded to, I shall only say that my sentiments remain unchanged, and my old opinions upon the nature of the relationship between the two countries have undergone no alteration. The marriage, however, having taken place, it is now the duty, as it ought to be the inclination, of every individual to render it as fruitful, as profitable and as advantageous as possible."

In 1803 Robert Emmet, a young enthusiast of 1798, raised with extremely few followers the standard of rebellion. His plan was the time-honoured one of seizing Dublin Castle, and it was disclosed by the inevitable traitor. The outcome was that the rebellion degenerated into a mere street-brawl in which the eminent judge Lord Kilwarden was brutally murdered. The young would-be Lord Edward FitzGerald paid the penalty of his crime with his life, and his memory lives in the speech he uttered from the dock. Dublin rallied to a man against Emmet, and the enlistment of recruits to meet the danger feared from his ill-planned attempt was even greater than in 1798. The Union, it is clear, was winning fresh support in the south.



## CHAPTER XI

### THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO 1846

A SCOTSMAN is passionately attached to a principle, while an Irishman—except in the north—is no less passionately attached to a person. A colonel in the Irish army in 1691 expressed the Irish personal attitude characteristically. “The King,” he said, “is nothing to me. I obey Sarsfield; let Sarsfield tell me to stab any man in the whole army and I will do it.” This attitude explains many puzzling matters in Irish history. It explains, for example, the catastrophic character its course so often assumes. It also explains the fact that during the nineteenth century the annals of our land almost down to the Great Famine turn on the personality of Daniel O’Connell, one of the greatest men the Roman Catholic communion has owned.

Born in the county of Kerry in 1775, he was a young man of twenty-three at the time of the ’98 Rebellion and of twenty-eight at the time of the rising of Robert Emmet in 1803. One effect both movements had upon him, and that was to give him an intense dislike to the use of physical force. His policy in after-years leant dangerously to the side of revolution, but in spite of this leaning he remained unaltered in his lifelong detestation of physical force. “Every man who commits a crime,” he repeatedly said, “gives strength to the enemy.” He was able to the end of his wonderful career to point out that he was “the first apostle and founder of that sect of politicians whose cardinal doctrine is this: that the greatest and most desirable of political changes may be achieved by moral means alone, and that no human revolution is worth the effusion of one single drop of human blood. Human blood is no cement for the temple of human liberty.” The fear of the French Revolution put an end to all measures of reform both in England and Ireland. To the men of the first decades of the nineteenth century reform spelt revolution. While this is true as a broad proposition, it is not quite true in the case of O’Connell. During the year 1798 he was seriously ill,

and during his illness he not only contracted an utter disbelief in physical force, but he also contracted an extreme dread of the outcome of the French revolutionary spirit. In spite of, or perhaps on account of, his education at St. Omer, he felt a persistent antipathy to French ideas. It's a wise child, runs an old Irish saying, that knows its own father. O'Connell lacked this wisdom, for not a few of his ideas came from that influence which he so cordially feared.

Many opposite qualities went to the making of the character of Daniel O'Connell. On the one side he was a Celt, but on another he was no less surely Teuton. He was movable in his sympathies, immovable in his convictions. If he was sensitive and susceptible, he was also strong and determined. He possessed the un-Celtic quality of being able to toil as terribly and as persistently as Sir Walter Raleigh himself. If he was local in his outlook, he was also universal in his sympathies. If he was individualistic in thought, he was corporate in action. If he was accommodating, he was also intense. If he was patriotic, fiercely patriotic, he was also legal, for he was one of the greatest criminal advocates of the day, taking rank with such men as Bushe and Blackburne, and even with that remarkable barrister Lord Plunket. His profession, however, led him to care more for his case than his cause, to care more for his cause than for his country. He was a statesman at the outset of his career, but in time he sank to the position of a mere party-leader.

He possessed the most dangerous of all gifts, the power of moving a great mass of people with picturesque words. His voice rose and fell at the control of the speaker, and with its rise and fall he left on the audience the idea of the overpowering conviction which inspired his speech. In his eloquence, and indeed in his conduct, he never knew when he had come to the place called Stop. To him Stanley was "Scorpion Stanley," Lord Brougham "an indescribable wretch," and even the Duke of Wellington was simply a "stunted corporal." He habitually overestimated the argument of force in language, and he just as habitually underestimated the force of argument.

What were the objects of his policy? They were the emancipation of his co-religionists, the disendowment of the Established Church and the restoration of Parliament. The first he achieved in his own day, the second in 1869 and the third—it has now come to pass. How was he to achieve his three objects? His method was the method of Swift, the in-

fluencing of public opinion. How was he to influence public opinion? His method was to make the priests the power in politics, and to make himself the power with the priests. It was in essence the method of Parnell, but O'Connell was the first to employ it on a wide scale. How well he accomplished his purpose let the history of Ireland during the first four decades of the nineteenth century attest. The pity is that his agitation should have been in any wise necessary. His bishops were willing to accept the payment of their priests and to allow Government control over their appointment to their sees. The conscience of George III—we meet it again—proved the insurmountable obstacle in the way. Was O'Connell altogether sorry that the King absolutely refused to consent to such proposals? We do not think he was. He desired the emancipation of his fellow-worshippers, but it was simply as a means to an end, and that end was the repeal of the Union. As Flood hampered the work of Grattan, so O'Connell hampered the work of Grattan. The latter was eager to make the union, the marriage, between the two countries fruitful, but the fundamental idea in O'Connell's mind was to make it unfruitful.

A man can be a statesman when he begins to move great audiences by his oratory. Can he remain a statesman when he has to address meeting after meeting? There are incidents in the life of O'Connell, as there are in the life of Gladstone, to suggest the obstacles in the way, even of a great man, of remaining statesmanlike. Can an orator remain moderate in his ideas when he is immoderate in his method of expressing them? We are afraid he cannot. This particularly applies to O'Connell, who habitually indulged in excessive violence of language, and indeed gave that tone in no small degree to Irish public life. His defence was that he found his co-religionists as broken in spirit as they were in fortune; that they had adopted the tone of the weakest mendicants; that they seemed ever fearful of wearying the dominant caste by their importunity; and that they were utterly unmindful of their powers and of their rights. Besides, we must remember that as he could not sit in Westminster, he had to appeal to the country beyond the walls of the House of Commons.

O'Connell, like many Irish, did not understand English methods of thought. It is therefore all the more remarkable to note how strongly he felt in sympathy with such men as Grote and Roebuck, as Russell and Macaulay. He was a statesman who became an agitator in Ireland, an agitator who became a statesman in England. His own country had



prospered by Foster's Corn Law, and was still prospering under it. Still, he advocated free trade in the frankest fashion. It never seemed to occur to him that if Foster's Corn Law was abolished the population of his native land must at once fall. From the Union to 1846 numbers were steadily increasing, and had in fact increased from the four millions of 1800 to the eight and a half millions of 1846. Yet the most certain outcome of free trade was the removal of the privileged position she occupied in the English markets, and the removal of this position meant the removal of half her population. O'Connell was certainly clear-sighted, but was he far-sighted? He opposed the income-tax on the ground that it crippled industry, and this opposition was disinterested, for Sir Robert Peel refused to extend this tax to Ireland.

There was a love of liberty in his nature, though this love at times degenerated into licence. He hated the slavery of the black man, and he opposed the twenty millions paid for his emancipation to the slave-owners of the West Indies. He supported the emancipation of the Jews at a time when it was unpopular. He advocated parliamentary reform in a fashion which compelled Radical admiration, for he went as far as universal suffrage, the ballot and an elective House of Lords. He advocated legal reform, and by this reform he meant the cheapening, the simplifying and the codifying of the law. He approved of the multiplication of local tribunals and of the abolition of obsolete forms and phraseology. He supported the abolition of capital punishment, the abolition of Game Laws—he was an ardent sportsman—the abolition of taxes on knowledge, the abolition of the Usury Laws, and the abolition of flogging in the army. He wished to alter the law of bequest, so as to make it compulsory on parents to leave at least half their property among their children; this of course was a French idea, and though he was hostile to such ideas he was not obstinately so.

He claimed to have been a lifelong friend to religious toleration. It is a proud claim to be able to make, and he could make it with perfect truth. He was anxious for the emancipation of his fellow-worshipper, and he was just as anxious for the emancipation of the Jew and of the Dissenter. He supported the abolition of the Test Act in favour of the latter. A British soldier refused to pay respect to a procession of the Host at Malta, and he was punished. O'Connell protested against the unfairness of this punishment. He loathed the Emperor Nicholas of Russia because he persecuted the Poles



and the Roman Catholics. He welcomed the separation of Belgium from Holland because it separated a Roman Catholic country from its dependence on a Protestant one.

Unlike Grattan, he believed with all his heart and soul in democracy, thinking that with it lay the future of the world. It is a common sentiment to-day, but it was not so common in the thirties of the nineteenth century. Naturally he lent his support to the Roman Catholic Liberal movement on the Continent. His was a curious and a contradictory career. For how could the agitator of Ireland be the friend of the philosophic Radicals of England? Yet he was both. Another matter calls for notice. He cared much for Irish history, little for Irish archæology and least for the Irish language. He himself came from an Irish-speaking district in Kerry, and spoke the language with ease. But he held strongly that the difference of languages was first introduced into the world as a punishment, and the superior utility of the English tongue as the medium of all modern communication was so great that he saw without regret the gradual disuse of Irish. One of the deepest motives in the policy of O'Connell was his determination to secure liberty for the Roman Catholic. George IV, when Prince Regent, had opposed this policy. The King visited Ireland in 1821, and despite his opposition to one of the dearest objects of the Irish leader the latter presented the King with a laurel wreath, symbolic of his loyalty to the Crown. Queen Victoria was opposed to the Repeal of the Union, the matter O'Connell had most at heart, yet he declared that he could get five hundred thousand Irishmen to defend her if she were menaced.

He cared for the welfare of the farmer, yet he had to witness that distress which seems to be the accompaniment of the conclusion of a great war. It was so after the conclusion of the Treaty of Vienna of 1815, and it is so after the conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles of 1919. In 1816 our land was practically bankrupt. We had borne our share of the burden of the Napoleonic Wars in men and in means, and in 1817 England generously bore the complete weight of her gigantic National Debt, a measure which was, according to Walpole, "perhaps the greatest pecuniary boon which had not merely ever been conferred on Ireland, but which had ever been granted by one nation to another." All expenses incurred in the future were to be defrayed by equal taxes to be imposed on similar articles in each country, subject to exemptions and abatements granted to Ireland. The distress, however, con-

tinued. The high war-prices had gone, but the high rents still remained. In June 1820, of the fourteen banks in the south no less than eleven were forced within a month to suspend payment. The cause of the distress was less lack of food than lack of employment. The outstanding cause of the want of employment was the unprecedented increase in the population. It was only four millions in 1880, and it was seven millions in 1821. The Corn Law of Foster was responsible for this startling growth, but after the close of the war it could not maintain the high prices necessary for their maintenance.

In 1806 O'Connell founded the Catholic Association which powerfully promoted his plan of campaign; it was refounded in 1823. Though the founder disliked violence, there was a recurrence of it on a widespread scale in the south and west during the years 1822 and 1823. Whiteboyism reassumed prominence. Arson, cattle-maiming and murder accompanied the rioting which prevailed. For the fifth time since 1800 the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended.

Beyond all question the main motive of the outrages was the imposition of the tithe, which was paid on tillage though not on pasturage. This meant that in Ireland the tithe was really paid by the very lowest of the peasantry, not, as in England, by the middle and the higher classes. These classes in England were, for the most part, members of the Church to which the tithe was paid, whereas in Ireland they were nothing of the sort. The chief subject of dispute between the clergyman and the people was the value of the crop. The law required the peasant to set out the tithe before the crop was removed. But very often the peasant was in such needy circumstances that he was obliged to use the crop for his own sustenance before any valuation was possible.

Between the actual cultivator of the soil and the landlord it was usual for six or seven middlemen to intervene. Under this system of middlemen the rent paid was inevitably exorbitant. In the evidence he gave before the Select Committee in 1825 O'Connell testified that in his own county of Kerry the usual wages of an agricultural labourer were sixpence a day without a meal and fourpence with it; that constant employment was almost unknown; and that wages in a large proportion of cases were not paid in money but in food. During the failure of the potato in 1822, he said, many labourers cheerfully worked in Kerry for twopence a day without victuals, being paid in money.

Dominick Brown, the member for Mayo, gave evidence in

1823 which brings to light the extraordinary position of the forty-shilling freeholders under joint tenancy. The system of joint tenancy, he stated, was very ancient, dating from the times when it was desirable to protect clans of husbandmen from wild beasts or other hostile clans. As it now existed, from ten to five hundred acres were let from two to a hundred tenants jointly, every one of whom was responsible for the rent of all the rest as well as for his own. They held the land in common, making a sort of gavelkind or new division of the arable land every year or two, but leaving the pasture undivided. They generally paid a rack-rent, and, after they had built their huts without mortar, chimney or window, they all swore to forty shillings of profit on registering their freeholds. Of course the outcome of this wretched system was that the industrious worked and the profligate idled. As all alike shared in the benefits of improvement, there were no improvements. As they were all bound for the rent of each other, the landlord could at any moment ruin any one by distraining him for the rent of all the joint tenants. If he worked incessantly, the tenant could not discharge all his responsibilities. Why then should he work? In good times the joint tenants lost much of their time in watching the proper application of their common funds. As it was impossible to preserve a decent standard of living, the condition of the people steadily grew in wretchedness. As we never value a common right as we do an individual one, the joint tenants admitted into the partnership their sons and their sons-in-law. How could Foster's Corn Law benefit men and women in this appalling condition? The utmost they could extract from the soil was their bare subsistence, and this subsistence meant potatoes and water with a little salt.

It is plain that when O'Connell agitated for the emancipation of his countrymen, he could not obtain much money from them. He therefore levied a sum of a penny a month collected by the priest. In 1825 it produced a thousand pounds a week. The landlords, for the sake of their own political influence, had extended the area of the forty-shilling freeholders, who voted as they were directed. But at the general election of 1826 the latter revolted against the domination of the landlords. Till then the tenant had unquestioningly followed the lead of his landlord, but this election witnessed the end of this condition of affairs. The priests preached that the eternal salvation of the voter was at stake. If he lost his farm on account of his vote, he had earned the crown of martyrdom.



If he kept his farm on account of his vote, he had earned the flames of hell. It was a terrible dilemma for a superstitious peasantry. The agitation of O'Connell, backed by the priests, was completely successful.

The triumph of the election of 1826 was repeated as a particular triumph by the Irish leader in 1828. That year Vesey Fitzgerald accepted office in the Wellington Cabinet, and thus had to seek re-election for the county of Clare. Though no Roman Catholic could be elected a member of Parliament, O'Connell stood as a candidate against Fitzgerald and was supported to a man by the farmers. He was elected, but he could not sit in the House of Commons.

Opposed as he was to reform, the Duke of Wellington now introduced the complement of the measures of 1778 and 1793. By the Emancipation Act of 1829 all offices except those of Regent, Viceroy and Lord Chancellor were thrown open to all. The pity is that it was not carried earlier, when there would have been an act of grace in conceding it. It ought to have been carried in 1793 or in 1800. Then it might have softened racial and religious animosities; but in 1829 the ordinary Roman Catholic was convinced—and rightly convinced—that what had won the day was the threat of the Catholic Association.

By this Act also the forty-shilling freeholders were deprived of their votes. Neither in England nor Scotland had men in this rank of life the franchise. In Ireland it was this very class which had won the general election of 1826, and it was this class which now lost political influence.

O'Connell had won a great triumph, and had his agitation ceased in 1829 he would have left a name to be remembered by posterity with gratitude. Unlike Grattan, agitation had become to him the very breath of his existence. He had long enjoyed the pleasure of swaying vast crowds at his will, and he was unable to part with this pleasure. On the night when Roman Catholic Emancipation was carried one of his friends slapped him on the shoulder, exclaiming, "Othello's occupation's gone." "Gone?" cried the Liberator, with an arch smile; "isn't there a Repeal of the Union?"

Lord Melbourne was a remarkable man, and his second administration of 1834 was as remarkable as the man. There was the equality of the Roman Catholic and of the Protestant in deed as well as in name. Patronage was fairly distributed among members of the different races. That the Melbourne administration achieved so resounding a success was thanks to



the labours of one man, Thomas Drummond, the Under-Secretary for Ireland. The influence of the school of reform after the great measure of 1832 is manifest in his famous declaration that property has its duties as well as its rights. True, the landlords might have retorted that the Government had allowed O'Connell and his Association to usurp not a few of its duties. The aims of Drummond were the strengthening of authority and the weakening of oppression. He strengthened authority by his plans for the growth and the development of the Royal Irish Constabulary, that splendid body which has done so much for the preservation of law and order, and by his reform of the administration of the law. Partisan unpaid magistrates were dismissed, the paid magistrates were doubled and trebled, and Roman Catholics were no longer shut out of the jury-box. He weakened oppression by the way in which he went to work in the detection of secret societies, that bane of Irish life. The Ribbon man found that he could no longer execute the murders he was directed to commit with impunity. Punishment, swift and relentless, awaited him.

Members of all creeds and races felt that Drummond was a man of the highest principle, resolved to employ authority with the strictest impartiality. "The State," spoke Macaulay, "long the stepmother of the many and the mother only of the few, became for the first time the common parent of all the great family. The body of the people began to look on their rulers as friends. Battalion after battalion, squadron after squadron, were withdrawn from districts which, as it had till then been thought, could be governed by the sword alone. Yet the security of property and the authority of the law became every day more apparent. Symptoms of amendment, symptoms such as cannot be either concealed or counterfeited, began to appear." The tithe was converted into a land-tax and charged to the owner, not to the occupier of the land. As the owner was almost invariably a Protestant landlord, this meant that the landlord directly paid the tithe, though he tried to shift the incidence of this taxation. As Grattan put it, the "shepherds" of the Church of Ireland ceased "to thrust their crooks into the bodies of the sheep."

In 1831 Stanley, the Chief Secretary, set up the National Board system of education for the children of the people. How necessary it was is clear from the fact that at that date more than half of the population could neither read nor write. Stanley's aims were to provide a plain education free of cost, to guard against proselytism, and by means of his schools to

unite the warring races of Ireland. In his first and second aims he achieved a large measure of success, but in his third he inevitably failed. The American public school has been the means of turning the sons and the daughters of the immigrants into true Americans, but the Irish schools in this respect have come far short of triumph.

Grattan's Parliament had established the College of Maynooth for the education of the priesthood with an endowment of eight thousand a year. In 1845 Sir Robert Peel raised this endowment to twenty-six thousand a year, and gave thirty thousand for the improvement of its buildings. The control of this college is entirely vested in the hands of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. As members of their communion did not resort to the University of Dublin, Peel created in 1845 the Queen's University with three Queen's Colleges in Cork, Galway and Belfast. Sir Robert Inglis declared these colleges to be seats of "godless education." Like Thomas Arnold, he thought that divinity ought to rank among the subjects taught. O'Connell and Archbishop MacHale re-echoed this stupid cry. The truth is that the majority of the bishops were resolved that no system of higher education should flourish in Ireland save one they completely controlled, and they asserted their right of appointing and dismissing the professors of all forms of learning. As they did not gain this authority in the Queen's University, they banned it to members of their flock. Dr. Derry, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Clonfert, refused the Sacrament to parents who sent their sons to the three colleges. The outcome was that the Queen's University did not benefit the sons of the middle and the upper classes of Roman Catholics. Despite this the Queen's University achieved splendid work, but in 1879 it was transformed into the Royal University, which was simply an examining board, a contemptible form of college life.

The education of the people was gradually improving, but prices remained high and the work of reconstruction was difficult. When prices began to fall, distress returned. The fact was that Foster's Corn Law had called into existence too large a population for the altered condition of affairs. A Poor Law was passed in 1838, but it was unable to cope with the situation.

O'Connell saw the existence of the problem, and proposed his remedy of State-aided emigration. He pressed the Government to take possession of large districts in Canada, and to assist able-bodied Irish labourers to settle there. He urged that many who were living in poverty on extremely small

farms in Ireland ought to be given the large and unoccupied soil of Canada. The tide of emigration from Europe to America was beginning to flow from every country in the old continent. The United States and Canada were the land of promise. They had land in plenty. Ulstermen had gone there throughout the whole of the eighteenth century, and now the rest of Ireland was to feel the fascination of the far West. The nineteenth century had been a century of emigration over the whole of the Old World. Canning remarked in connection with the affairs of South America: "I called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old." True as his statement was in his sense, it is far more true in the emigration sense. The farmer and the peasant, the artisan and the labourer—all thought that America was El Dorado.

During the nineteenth century no less than 30,000,000 left Europe for the United States. The United Kingdom sent 8,000,000, and of this number 4,350,000 came from our own land. Germany followed next with 5,500,000 emigrants, and then came Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia and the Scandinavian countries in the order named. To-day the tide of emigration has spread to the most remote districts in Europe. Men still come not only from the lands named, but also from all the eastern States. Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Romania, Greece and Turkey all send of their superfluous sons and daughters to the United States. Emigration is in truth not only a European movement: it is much more, for it is a world movement.

No apple of discord produced more strife than the boundless energies of the Irish agitator. In April 1840 he founded the Repeal Association in order to get rid of the Union. The plan of the Catholic Association of 1825-9 was reproduced. A member paid a pound a month, a repealer a shilling, and the rank and file a shilling. He appealed in the forties as he appealed in the twenties to the priests to rally round him. He implored the farmers to remember the days of the Volunteers and to strike for the free Parliament of 1782, a Parliament which was not free and in which there was not a single Roman Catholic. The statesman in O'Connell departed; he became the party leader he had long really been. Yet there were still traces of statesmanship left. He had sympathy with the philosophic Radicals, but he had none with the English Chartists the moment he found that they were holding Proudhon's view that property was theft. One Irish agitator recommended a strike against rent until what he considered the grievances



of the tenants were removed. O'Connell replied by at once expelling him from the Repeal Association. He always deprecated anything tending to impair the security of property. At the same time he left on the mind of his followers the impression that a local Parliament would show special tenderness to the farmer: it would, for example, grant him an improved tenure of land. For indeed he well knew that a mere repeal of the Union would not stir men to join his new Association. Behind the political movement there was also an economic movement, the beginning of much that was to change the face of Irish history.

Behind the old organisation the Liberator had secured support in every part of the country. But the new organisation had to face the intense hostility of Ulster. North and South had always been different, and the difference had been increased by the amazing development of manufactures in the former. To the contrast in race could be added the contrast made in the type of employment in each. The one was industrial and progressive, the other was agricultural and stationary. Within twenty years after the Union the linen manufacturer had become exceedingly prosperous. The discontent of the artisan was allayed; so too was that of the minister. The far-sighted Castlereagh increased the *Regium Donum*, the small annual sum paid to the Presbyterian Church since the reigns of Charles II and William III. The augmentation of this grant inevitably disposed the ministers to look more favourably on England than their fathers had done. The pity is that similar provision was not made at that time for the priests.

The artisan and the minister in the north were contented; so too was the farmer. "The custom of the country" tended to give him a concurrent right in his farm; it had become established and recognised as the privilege of the farmer by a usage dating to the days of the Ulster Plantation. The farmer in three provinces had no fixity of tenure, but in the north he practically possessed it. When Daniel O'Connell began his movement in favour of the repeal of the Union, it was his dearest hope that he might win the Ulsterman to his side. They had taken part in the rising of 1641, the revolution of 1689, and the agrarian troubles of the eighteenth century. They had founded the Volunteers and the United Irishmen. Historically, then, O'Connell's hopes were high, but they were never destined to be realised. The Liberal Ulstermen, who had declared for the emancipation of their Roman Catholic



fellow-countrymen in 1829, fell away from him and pronounced decisively for the Union. For a time he hoped to divide the men of the north, but the influence of Henry Cooke, a leading Presbyterian divine, was too much for him. Cooke urged—and urged with success—that all minor differences must be sunk in view of the grave danger that threatened the Union. The failure of the Repeal Movement in 1843 in Ulster proved the complete change that had come over the North since 1800–01. Scotland had gone through a similar change a century before. In 1800 Ulster heartily disliked the Union, whereas in the forties she had become heartily reconciled to it.

It is noteworthy that the Young Ireland movement made as little appeal to Ulster as it made to O'Connell. In 1848 it attained prominence through the literary efforts of a brilliant set of men who wrote in *The Nation*. Among these men were Thomas Davis, the real leader, Sir Gavan Duffy, Smith O'Brien and John Mitchel. In their ranks were such true poets as Davis himself and Mangan, Ferguson and MacCarthy. As in the '98 Rebellion many of the leaders were Protestants, so it was now in the Young Ireland party. One of his friends found Lord Plunket perusing the columns of *The Nation*. He asked the Lord Chancellor what was the tone of the new journal, and Plunket answered with perfect truth, "Wolfe Tone." This puts the exact reason why O'Connell did not see eye to eye with the Young Irishmen.

On one side of their policy the Young Irish party commands our admiration, for its members were men who cared for their country, and proposed to develop it by the self-reliance, the industry and the earnestness they possessed. They felt a lively interest in Irish history and in Irish archæology. All over the Europe of 1848 the idea was spreading that a nation possessed a life of its own, and that no other nation ought to control it. Davis proclaimed this idea with all the force of his ardent soul. In order to carry it out the Young Irishmen refused to believe with O'Connell that "no political amelioration was worth one drop of human blood." There is, however, another side to their policy. Some of them spent their talents in fostering that hatred of England which is responsible for so much that is evil in Irish life. John Mitchel was as violent as J. F. Lalor, who advocated rebellion backed by agrarian plunder, and insisted that only in this combination lay the hope of success.

It is curious to note that though Carlyle despised O'Connell he did not despise the Young Irishmen—over whom the sage

of Chelsea exercised a certain fascination. "Both Duffy and Mitchel," Carlyle recorded, "I have always regarded as specimens of the best kind of Irish youth, seduced like thousands of them in their early day into courses that were at once mad and ridiculous, and which nearly ruined the life of both, by the big Beggarman [i.e. O'Connell] who had £15,000 a year and *Proh pudor!* the favour of English ministers instead of the pillory from them, for professing blarney with such and still worse results."

At first the Young Irelanders admired the Liberator. MacCarthy wrote with O'Connell in his mind :

"When the Lord created the earth and the sea,  
The stars and the glorious sun,  
The Godhead *spoke*, and the universe woke,  
And the mighty work was done!  
Let a word from the orator's tongue,  
Or a drop from the fearless pen,  
And the chains accurst asunder burst  
That fettered the minds of men.

"Oh! these are the arms with which we fight,  
The swords in which we trust,  
Which no tyrant shall dare to brand,  
Which time cannot stain or rust.  
When these we bore we triumphed before,  
With these we'll triumph again,  
And the world shall say no power can stay  
The voice or the fearless pen."

The spirit of the young poets began to change, for Davis was one day to write :

"The tribune's tongue or poet's pen  
May sow the seed in prostrate men,  
But 'tis the soldier's sword alone  
Can reap the harvest when 'tis grown."

As O'Connell was the rhetorician of the Repeal movement, so Thomas Meagher was the rhetorician of the Young Ireland one. Meagher poured scorn on the doctrine of "those tame moralists who say that liberty is not worth a drop of blood. Men who subscribe to such a maxim are fit for out-of-door relief, and for nothing better." O'Connell met the scorn with scorn, holding that "it is, no doubt, a very fine thing to die for one's country, but believe me, one living patriot is worth a whole churchyard full of dead ones." The Roman Catholic bishops and priests alike dreaded the Voltairian or infidel tendencies they detected in the new party. The Young Ire-

landers rebelled in 1848, but, thanks to the action of the priests, their rebellion was as fruitless as Emmet's.

The young party and the old leader differed in other ways. For the Young Irelanders demanded that the Irish party should hold itself aloof from English parties, or at least only enter into temporary alliances with them for purely Irish ends. Instead of supporting the interests of the British Empire, they anticipated Parnell in desiring the obstruction of the parliamentary machine in what they conceived to be the interests of their own policy. They especially desired that every repeal member should solemnly bind himself to accept no office of emolument under the Crown. To this demand O'Connell made the fair reply that he had spent many of the best years of his life in removing disqualifications which shut out Roman Catholics from Parliament, and that he certainly was not going to impose a new disqualification excluding those who agreed with him from all places of emolument and influence in the administration of their country.

In the meantime O'Connell was pursuing his Repeal campaign by means of his monster meetings. At Tara, for instance, a quarter of a million people assembled to hear him. With him was associated that astonishing man Father Mathew, whose work on behalf of teetotalism was as wonderful as that of O'Connell for repeal. The agitation grew to such dimensions that the Government was gravely alarmed. On Sunday, October 8, 1843, O'Connell was to hold another monster meeting at Clontarf. The Government proclaimed it, and with its proclamation the leader lost much of his authority. He had insisted that his meetings were legal, and he had to acknowledge that they were illegal. Most serious of all in the eyes of the Irish, he had run away. He and his organisers were tried on the charge of conspiracy and sedition. They were found guilty. It is plain now that he had never planned sedition, and it is also plain that he never intended to employ physical force. At the same time his language was calculated to excite in the hearts of his hearers feelings of resentment against England for her conduct in the past. He never understood the truth, the deep truth, that is conveyed in the epigram that our history is for Englishmen to remember and for Irishmen to forget.

The foreign policies of Philip II, of Louis XIV, of Napoleon and of William II have all left their mark on our country. The poet tells us that peace hath her victories no less renowned than those of war. Sometimes, however, these victories in the industrial world can inflict defeat on other lands. So it



was with us in the middle of the nineteenth century. A Viceroy had been retained in 1800 simply because London was so far away. The railway brought London and Dublin together; the steamer also brought them together. Not only were England and Ireland brought into closer contact than ever before, but America and Ireland were also brought into contact. The immediate effects of this contact could not be foreseen in a day. For the second time in our history we were to be deeply affected by the New World. The first time was when Columbus discovered America, thereby altering fundamentally the position of Ireland in the map of the world. The second time was when the products of the prairie-land of the far West began to be carried to Liverpool. How could an old country like Ireland compete with a new country like the United States? Tillage had paid us at the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It paid us no longer, for we could not sell our corn at a price adequate to compensate us for our outlay. America was able to undersell us. Sir Robert Peel reluctantly took advantage of this low American price, and at last declared for free trade in 1846.

American competition was causing—and was to cause—the severest distress to the Irish farmer. On top of this distress came the failure of the potato crop in 1846. There had been famines in the eighteenth century, for example, the terrible famine of 1740, and Ireland survived them. She could also have survived the famine of 1846, awful as it was. She was, however, unable to survive the famine as well as the coming of free trade. It was that measure which really gave the *coup de grâce* to her agricultural prosperity for a couple of generations.

In 1846 the potato crop failed, and there lay before a population of over eight millions the prospect of nothing short of starvation. It was, what Lord John Russell called it, a thirteenth-century famine with a nineteenth-century population. There is much to censure in the conduct of O'Connell, but there is little to censure during this ordeal. He urged that distillation and brewing should cease till the famine had disappeared; that the ports should be thrown open and rice and Indian corn largely imported from the colonies; and that in each county machinery should be set up for carrying out relief. He pleaded that railways and any other public works of real utility should be pressed on as quickly as possible in order to afford employment to the people. It was some time before



the Government realised the gravity of the crisis. A hundred thousand pounds were spent in bringing Indian corn from America. The grand juries were given powers to raise money for employing the destitute. Up to August 1846 the Government had spent almost three-quarters of a million. O'Connell admitted that "there is abundant individual humanity and charity. The noblest generosity is evinced by multitudes of the English." In the spring of 1847 the Government was employing seven hundred thousand men, paying them almost a million sterling a month.

The generosity of mankind seemed placed at the service of the distressed Irish, the people of the United States rendering notable assistance. Nor were the landlords and their wives a whit behind. John Mitchel, who detested them, wrote that "the resident landlords and their families did, in many cases, devote themselves to the task of saving their poor people alive. Many remitted their rents or half their rents; and ladies kept their servants busy and their kitchens smoking with continual preparation of food for their poor."

As surely as in 1914 one Ireland ceased and another began, so in 1846 one Ireland ceased and another began. There had been a rivulet of emigration to the United States; now there was a torrent. Hundreds of thousands fled from the land of pestilence to the land of hope. By a curious irony of economics the emigrants rendered the lot of those they left behind all the harder, for the more corn they cultivated the keener they made the competition with the corn of their native land. The history of Ireland from 1784 to 1846 is in a large measure the history of a land changing from pasturage to tillage. The history of Ireland from 1846 to 1914 is the history of a land changing from tillage to pasturage, and the chief agent in this immense change is the wheat of the United States. From the same point of view this wheat so lowered the price of agricultural produce that the Land Acts were a necessity.

## CHAPTER XII

### FROM THE FAMINE TO THE FENIAN MOVEMENT (1846-1867)

THE rise and fall of the Irish population is apparent in the following table :

1801 . . . . .	5,395,456	1871 . . . . .	5,412,377
1811 . . . . .	5,937,856	1881 . . . . .	5,174,836
1821 . . . . .	6,801,827	1891 . . . . .	4,704,750
1831 . . . . .	7,767,401	1901 . . . . .	4,458,775
1841 . . . . .	8,175,124	1911 . . . . .	4,390,219
1851 . . . . .	6,552,385	1921 . . . . .	(no census)
1861 . . . . .	5,798,564		

In such fashion statistics can feebly represent the change that set in when the system of Protection was operative and when it was not. No set of figures, however, can in any wise represent the amount of misery and hardship they half disclose and half conceal.

Mr. Stephen de Vere gives us his own voluntary experiences as a steerage passenger in the fifties in an emigrant ship on which he remained for two months. He records how he saw "hundreds of poor people—men, women and children of all ages, from the drivelling idiot of ninety to the babe just born—huddled together without light, without air, wallowing in filth and breathing a fetid atmosphere, sick in body, dispirited in heart; the fevered patients lying between the sound, in sleeping-places so narrow as almost to deny them the power of indulging by a change of position the natural restlessness of disease; by their agonised ravings disturbing those around, and predisposing them through the effects of the imagination to imbibe the contagion; living without food or medicine, except as administered by the hand of casual charity; dying without the voice of spiritual consolation, and buried in the deep without the rites of the Church. The food is generally ill-selected, and seldom sufficiently cooked in consequence of the insufficiency and bad construction of the cooking-places. The supply of water, hardly enough for cooking and drinking, does not allow washing. In many ships the filthy beds, teem-

ing with all abominations, are never required to be brought on deck and aired ; the narrow space between the sleeping-berths and the piles of boxes is never washed or scraped, but breathes up a damp and fetid stench, until the day before arrival at quarantine, when all hands are required to scrub up and put on a fair face for the Government inspector and the doctor. No moral restraint is attempted ; the voice of prayer is never heard ; and drunkenness, with its consequent train of ruffianly debasement, is not discouraged, because it is profitable to the captain, who trafficks in grog."

The Irishman tore himself from a land he loved, and, like Abraham of old, sojourned in a land he knew not. So far from requiring to be driven away, he grew more and more eager to depart. There was not only hardship of soul ; there was also that hardship of body which Mr. de Vere so powerfully notes. The emigrant of to-day travels in a palatial steamship, but the emigrant of the forties performed a journey whose horrors recalled those of the Middle Passage. And a hundred thousand annually from 1851 to 1861 had to make this passage. It is a striking fact that from 1848 to 1864 the emigrants sent home to Ireland the huge sum of thirteen millions to enable their relatives to join them. It shows how hopeless they regarded the situation in the land they left.

The subdivision of the land under the working of the system of Protection had reached a stage of minuteness to which the *morcellement* of France affords no real parallel. Under the régime of Free Trade it was obvious that these tiny holdings must be consolidated in order to afford the prospect of earning a living wage to those left behind. This was quite plain to the Devon Commission, which reported in 1845, for this important Commission pointed out that the Act of 1793, having extended the forty-shilling franchise to Roman Catholics, "the landowners and the middlemen found the importance of a numerous following of tenantry, and subdivision and subletting, being by the law indirectly encouraged, greatly increased. The war with France raised the profits of the occupier, who was thus enabled to pay a large rent to the *mesne* lessee. These causes produced a class of intermediate proprietors, known by the name of middlemen, whose decline after the cessation of the war and the fall of prices in 1815 brought with it much of the evils witnessed of late years. Many who during the long war had amassed much wealth had become proprietors in fee ; others who had not been so successful struggled in after-years to maintain a position in society which their failing resources

would not support. The subtenants were unable to pay war-rents. The middleman himself, who had come under rent during the same period, became equally unable to meet his engagements. All became impoverished. The middleman parted with his interest, or underlet the little land he had hitherto retained in his own hands; himself and his family were rapidly involved in ruin. The landlord in many cases was obliged to look to the occupiers for his rent, or, at the expiration of the lease, found the farms covered with a pauper, and it may be a superabundant, population. Subsequently the Act of 1829 destroyed the political value of the forty-shilling freeholders, and, to relieve the property from the burden which this chain of circumstances brought upon it, the landlord in too many instances adopted what has been called 'the clearance system.' "

In the interests of landlord and tenant alike the process of the consolidation of the tiny holdings proceeded. From 1849 to 1852 no less than 58,423 families, or 306,120 men, women and children, were evicted. Eviction succeeded eviction. The mud cabins were thrown down in all directions. In one union within a few months a thousand of them were levelled to the ground. Some of the people migrated to the towns and villages, where they eked out a wretched existence. It is as vain to blame the landlord as it is to blame the tenant. Both were victims alike of the economic system then prevailing. Protection had called a large population into being, and this large population Free Trade could not sustain. If ruin fell on the tenant, ruin also fell on the landlord. It is probable that one-third of the latter class was completely impoverished. Some of its members were serving on relief committees when the famine began, and before it was over they were begging their dole of Indian meal. Some check was placed on the evictions by a measure passed in 1848, obliging landlords to give forty-eight hours' notice to the Poor Law guardians of their intention to execute an eviction, so as to allow provision to be made in the workhouse for the reception of the persons who had lost the shelter of their cabin. The tragedy was that when the peasant lost his holding of a quarter of an acre, he lost his all. If he owned more than a quarter of an acre, he received no Poor Law relief. The process of eviction was a rough one, but it was the only process that afforded any hope for the survivors. Yet none of the wrongs of the past have left so deep a mark on the Irishmen on both sides of the Atlantic as the evictions, which were the aftermath of the great famine,



and the sufferings of the emigrants in the vile vessels of the forties.

The harvest of 1847 was good. Cheap supplies of food were arriving at our ports. The potato harvest, if not bountiful, was satisfactory. In March 1848 the famine was at last over. Though it was over, it had left problem after problem to be solved. Many tenants and many landlords had disappeared in the wreckage. The Poor Law, it was stated, had "beggared the proprietor, had ruined the farmer, and did not support the poor." It was quite certain that the land question would have to be seriously considered.

The Devon Commission of 1843-5 had emphasised the old distinction between the English landlord and the Irish. "In England and Scotland," remarked Lord Donoughmore, "the landlords let farms; in Ireland they only let land." That is, the English landlord builds farm offices and fences, whereas the Irish landlord did nothing of the sort. The Irish tenant increased the value of his farm by his improvements, but these improvements legally belonged to his landlord, who might recognise them as a matter of friendly feeling. Before the famine an Ulster Radical, Sharman Crawford, introduced a measure into the House of Commons which would have solved this difficulty. He proposed that when a tenant made improvements which were of a nature to produce an increased rent, and which had not been included in the terms of his existing lease, these improvements should be duly valued; that the tenant, on the expiry of his lease, should have the right to claim either immediate money compensation from the landlord or a prolongation of his tenancy; and that, in fixing the new rent, the value of the unremunerated improvements should be taken into account, so that the tenant might be repaid for them in the course of the succeeding tenancy.

The Devon Commissioners collected much valuable evidence, and as a result of their consideration of it they recommended in 1845 a law giving tenants in the future compensation for permanent and productive improvements. They proceeded to lay down certain principles governing the consideration of these improvements. Landlord and tenant were to arrive at agreements regarding the improvements, and these agreements were to be registered. If they found it impossible to make an agreement, the tenant was to serve a notice on the landlord of his intention to effect suitable improvements. Then they were mutually to choose arbitrators to make a report, and the assistant barrister, after a consideration of this report and after

examination, was to lay down the maximum cost, which was not to exceed three years' rent. If the tenant were evicted or if his rent were raised within thirty years, the landlord was to pay proper compensation, which was not to exceed the maximum fixed. Moreover, it was also laid down by the Commissioners that the improvements were to be completed within a limited time, and that the landlord was to have the option of making them himself, charging five per cent. on his outlay.

The Commissioners thought that there had been cases of the confiscation of tenants' improvements; that a tenant at will or a tenant with a very short lease was always subject to them; that "a single instance occurring in a large district would naturally paralyse exertion to an incalculable extent"; that the possibility of such confiscation directly and indirectly contributed largely to most of the social evils of Ireland.

At the same time it is right to indicate that the Devon Commissioners frankly acknowledge that "there had not been brought many cases to show that it had been the practice of land proprietors to take advantage of improving tenants who had invested money without a lease or other security." They acknowledged that "it had not been shown that tenants possessing long and beneficial leases of the lands had in general brought them to a high state of improvement"; and that they had received evidence which went to show that "lands let upon very long terms and at very low rents were in worse condition, and their occupiers even more embarrassed, than others."

In 1845 Lord Stanley introduced a Government measure based on the report of the Devon Commissioners, and the following year Lord Lincoln introduced another. The first measure encountered determined opposition. The second measure perished with the fall of the Government of Sir Robert Peel which had sponsored it. There were other attempts to give effect to the recommendations of the Devon Land Commission, and of these the most notable was the Bill of Mr. Napier, the Irish Attorney-General of Lord Derby's Government, in 1852. This Act had a retrospective character, applying to all past improvements. In the issue all these measures failed, and the report of the Devon Land Commission was to remain without effect for a quarter of a century.

Landlord and tenant had enjoyed a spell of prosperity under the working of a system of Protection. How they had enjoyed it, let the novels of Lever and of Lover attest. When Charles Lever wrote *Charles O'Malley*, he wrote a novel which affords

untold pleasure to the reader, but his pleasure is in no wise dimmed if he remembers that it also gives a by no means unfaithful picture of the days when Foster's Corn Law filled the coffers of the Custom House and the coffers of the landlord and the tenant alike. The ultimate landlord and the ultimate tenant, however, received least out of it. "The good ould times" had decidedly passed away. Some of the tenants had died as one of the results of the famine, some had gone to the work-house, some had gone to America, and the remainder were left to struggle with the fierce competition of the United States. The landlords shared in the common ruin. There were mortgages and there were settlement charges on their estates, and these prevented the due development of their property. In 1849 the Encumbered Estates Act created a Court allowing the embarrassed landlords a cheap process of selling their property.

There were advantages in the new measure. It resulted in the elimination of the needy petty squire and in the exclusion of much of the insolvency of the landlord class. On the other hand, it substituted a new race of landlords who had no connection, save a business one, with the soil. Landlords in the past had acknowledged the existence of *noblesse oblige*. There was a strong, sentimental tie existing between them and their tenants. Their successors regarded the cash-nexus as the only tie they had with the cultivators of their property. Customary rights disappeared; competitive rights appeared. It is perfectly clear that the purchasers were attracted by the knowledge that the old landlords had not taken undue advantage of the necessities of their tenants. But the new men saw no reason why they should not press their legal rights to the utmost. They did so press them, and the outcome was the genesis of that bitter feeling which began to pervade the relationship of the two classes. Investments of land in the forties were magnetic in their powers of attraction. English and Scots, however, prudently declined to speculate, and the new race of proprietors was almost entirely Irish. There were some English Insurance Companies who speculated. Under the working of this 1849 measure no less than one-sixth of the soil was transferred to this new race of landlords. Rack-renting<sup>1</sup> was due in the past to the middleman, but after 1849 it was due to the new type of landlord, who borrowed half the purchase-money and then raised the rents of his tenants in order to meet the interests he had to pay.

<sup>1</sup> A "rack-rent" is the term used for denoting a rent in excess of a fair rent—though the latter is in itself hard to define.



In spite of the Young Ireland party, Queen Victoria visited us in the summer of 1849 and met with a welcome as happy as she was to receive in the days of Mr. Gerald Balfour. Gentle and simple were still suffering from the effects of the great famine. Still, in spite of their suffering, they were as glad to see their Queen as O'Connell had been in the past. In 1853, in 1861 and in 1900 she also visited us, and her visits were always successes. No one, not even Royalty, can minister to a mind diseased with evil memories. The Celt, however, cares for persons rather than for principles, and it is a thousand pities that this idiosyncrasy of his has not been given scope for its enjoyment. From the days of Hannibal to those of Napoleon, he has cared for a great man. Henry II knew Celtic nature, and succeeded in winning the hearts of the Irish chiefs by his graciousness at the Conquest. It is difficult to understand why his successors did not imitate his fine example.

The land question was still in process of solution. It was also in process of transformation, for tillage was as steadily diminishing as pasturage was increasing. There were 4,612,543 acres under tillage in 1851, and there were only 2,939,708 in 1886. There were 8,748,577 acres under grass in 1851, and there were no less than 10,160,292 in 1886. The land under meadow and clover rose from 1,246,408 acres in 1851 to 2,094,138 in 1886. There was another noteworthy difference. Though the population was swiftly diminishing, the waste lands fell from 6,489,971 acres in 1841 to 4,729,251 acres in 1881. Petty farms were absorbed into large farms, and the process of consolidation continued. In 1841 there were 697,549 holdings under fifteen acres, and in 1851 only 307,665; and during the same period the number of holdings over fifteen acres increased from 127,967 to 290,401. Landlord and tenant increased their investments in the soil, and brought into general use improved methods of cultivation and raising cattle. Between 1847 and 1885 the number of oxen, bulls and cows exported from Ireland increased from 186,483 to 588,170; the number of calves from 6,363 to 52,300; and the number of sheep and lambs from 259,257 to 629,090. There was growing prosperity for the landlord and the tenant, and in this prosperity the labourer shared: there was a steady rise in his wages. There were in 1851 no less than 355,689 fewer mud cabins with a single room than in 1841.

Mr. Sharman Crawford and other Ulster Protestants adhered to their views on the necessity for compensation on all im-



provements effected by the tenant. O'Connell had leanings in this direction, but the denunciations of Thomas Davis and the Young Ireland party had frightened him into abandoning this new line of action. Early in 1850 the Tenant Right League was formed, and in it there were both northern and southern members. Its objects were practically the three "F's." These "F's" were: a fair rent to be fixed by arbitration or by the State; fixity of tenure so long as the fair rent was paid—this was the Ulster custom; and freedom of sale, or the right of the tenant to sell his interest in the land and for him to keep the purchase-money. But as so often happens in Irish parties, the League had to contend not only with currents but with cross-currents of opinion. The majority was led by Gavan Duffy and Frederick Lucas, and its sole aim was tenant right. The minority was composed of the remnant of O'Connell's party, and in it personal objects loomed largely. United, the Tenant Right League might have stood, but divided it fell, and with its fall was postponed to 1870 the next serious attempt at a solution of the land problem.

In the debates in Parliament in the year 1854 men like the Marquess of Bath held that interference with land was certainly socialistic, infringing the law of contract. And it is certain that the Irish Land Laws of the last fifty years could not pass the United States Congress, as the Supreme Court would take a line similar to that of the Marquess of Bath, declaring that such laws were violations of the law of contract and therefore *ultra vires*. In a very remarkable speech Lord Dufferin, afterwards the great Ambassador, said: "The argument, then, which I would venture to urge in support of the tenants' claim for legislative interference is simply this: from circumstances over which the tenantry of Ireland had no control, and for which they were not responsible, it became necessary for them to execute improvements on their farms of a permanent character without being able previously to protect themselves by any adequate contract. To a certain extent, however, a degree of security almost tantamount to that guaranteed by a contract was afforded to them by an understanding or custom which, though differing in its *modus operandi* in different parts of Ireland, was nevertheless, in one shape or another, almost universally prevalent. Latterly, however, in consequence of the great revolution, and the breaking-up of the old state of things which has taken place, these semi-feudal and ill-defined understandings which once existed between a former race of landlords and their tenants are no

longer to be found to give the necessary security, and the tenantry are therefore anxious to substitute for an equitable right under an uncertain custom a legal right under a definite law."

A speech like that of Lord Dufferin fell on deaf ears. Nevertheless, the land problem only seemed to be in abeyance. There was certainly agitation, but it went underground. One of the protean forms it wore was Ribbonism, which had developed into a purely agrarian movement. As in the days of the United Irishmen and in those of Sinn Féin, the Ribbonmen held courts in which obnoxious persons were tried, sentenced to death and duly murdered. "The Irishman," held Mr. Stuart Trench, an experienced land-agent, "murders patriotically. He murders to assert and enforce a principle—that the land which the peasant has reclaimed from a bog, the cabin which he has built, and the trees which he has planted are his own, subject to the landlord's right by law to exact a rent for another man's labours. In general he pays the rent, generally he exerts himself to pay it, even when the payment is difficult to him; but he resolves not to be dispossessed. He joins a Ribbon lodge, and opposes to the combination of the rich the combination of the poor." The absolute ruler of the Roman Catholic Church was Cardinal Cullen, and he frowned on popular movements in general and secret societies in particular. To him they savoured of Mazzini, Garibaldi and such enemies of his Church. He refused to allow the veterans of the Catholic League of O'Connell and of the Repeal movement of 1843-4 to meddle with the reform of the system of land tenure. In primary education his influence was specially felt. He declared it to be "contrary to the spirit and practice of our Holy Church to sanction united religious instruction, or to sanction any instruction in matters connected with religion given to Catholics by persons who themselves reject the teaching of the Catholic Church." The principle thus laid down was far-reaching, and was not merely a condemnation of the national school system, but was in effect a condemnation of the three Queen's Colleges which formed the Queen's University.

Despite Cardinal Cullen, the Ribbonmen were plotting at home: the Fenians, who were largely disappointed Irish-Americans, were plotting abroad. In districts where Ribbonism prevailed it was difficult to secure the conviction of the guilty, because popular feeling lay with the law-breaker, not with the law. In England and Scotland, out of every hundred committed for trial, only twenty-five were acquitted; whereas

in Ireland, fifty-three were acquitted. Trial by jury under conditions such as those which prevailed in Ireland was simply absurd. Abroad the Irish emigrants naturally felt sore. In 1857 James Stephens founded the Society of the Fenian<sup>1</sup> Brotherhood, whose members were the emigrants in the United States. The oath they swore was: "In the presence of Almighty God, I solemnly swear allegiance to the Irish Republic, now virtually established, and to take up arms when called on to defend its independence and integrity. I also swear to yield implicit obedience to the commands of my superior officers."

The Roman Catholic Church both here and in America exerted itself against the Fenian movement, but in spite of these efforts its numbers increased. In its ranks were to be found men envenomed against England. Among the leaders were such men of the 1848 party as O'Mahony, Meagher and Mitchel. The publications of some of the Fenians were as bitter against the landlords as the Jacobin press of 1793-4 was against the seigneurs. Here is a sample of the teaching: "I recommend to my countrymen to shoot the landlord-levellers as we shoot robbers and rats." Such teaching was poisoning the minds of the people. The *Irish People* openly preached the policy of force. Spies, as usual, reported the doings of the leaders to Dublin Castle.

As the American War of Independence had helped the Volunteers, so now the war between North and South, which raged in America from 1860 to 1865, helped the Fenians. The revolutionary spirit was in the air. "Ireland to-day," proclaimed the *Irish People*, "has one chance and strength which no subject nation save herself ever possessed. She has not only a new nation, as it were, of her sons outside her own soil, but countless thousands of those sons have been trained to arms in the fierce combats of the present American war. These Irish soldiers (both officers and privates) having already revived the military prestige of Ireland in transatlantic fights, are impatient to signalise their valour in nobler battles at home."

A great Fenian Convention had been held in Chicago, under the presidency of O'Mahony, in November 1863. It had increased American agitation in Ireland very considerably. At the end of the American Civil War in 1865 Irish soldiers discharged came over to Ireland, and set to work recruiting for

<sup>1</sup> The word "Fenian" is believed to have been derived from Fiana, a legendary Irish hero.



Fenianism. It was hard work, for the priests, by the express orders of Cardinal Cullen, denounced Fenianism as the worst kind of rebellious wickedness. The farmers therefore stood aloof. This is clear from the fact that out of 752 men arrested under special powers to December 1866, only 35 were farmers. The movement, in fact, was more American than Irish; Chicago was a more important centre than Cork. James Stephens planned September 1865 for the time of the rising. In a letter he wrote under an assumed name, Stephens insisted that "this year—and let there be no mistake about it—must be the year of action. I speak with a knowledge and authority to which no other man could pretend; and I repeat the flag of Ireland—of the Irish Republic—must this year be raised." Dublin Castle remained well-informed. In the very month arranged for the outbreak the office of the *Irish People* was raided, and Luby, O'Leary and O'Donovan Rossa were arrested, and incriminating documents seized.

The leaders were captured, and the Fenian movement was broken, if not beaten. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended forthwith. Suspected persons were arrested on all sides. The importation and the use of arms were practically forbidden. In 1868 the violence of the Society of the Fenian Brotherhood had been brought under control. The spirit of hatred to England, however, remained, and this hatred was intensified by the sense of the failure of the movement to achieve anything like what it had promised.

There was an English incident which was unimportant in itself but important because of the feeling it excited in Ireland. In Manchester two Fenian leaders, Deasy and Kelly, had been captured, and on September 18, 1867, were on their way in a prison van to the county jail at Salford. Thirty or forty armed men under the command of Allen stopped the van, rescued the prisoners, and during the struggle Sergeant Brett, who refused to save his life by giving up the two men, was shot dead by Allen. Five of the assailants were found guilty of murder. Two were reprieved, and three of them, Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, were hanged. One of the reprieved was Condon, and the prayer with which he concluded his speech from the dock inspires the hymn "God save Ireland." Three weeks later occurred the Clerkenwell explosion. Two Fenians, Burke and Casey, were confined in Clerkenwell jail. In order to allow them to escape, the wall of the prison was to be destroyed by an explosion of gunpowder. At Scotland Yard Sir Richard Mayne received an anonymous letter, warning him of



the plan. The two prisoners were confined to their cells, and their lives were in consequence saved. But many of the inhabitants in the small houses opposite the jail suffered. Six were killed, six died from wounds or shock, and more than a hundred suffered injury. One of the conspirators, Michael Barrett, was convicted and executed.

## CHAPTER XIII

### FROM DISESTABLISHMENT TO LAND PURCHASE (1867-1885)

"Down to the year 1865, and the dissolution of that year," declared Mr. Gladstone, "the whole question of the Irish Church was dead: nobody cared for it; nobody paid attention to it in England. Circumstances occurred which drew the attention of the people to the Irish Church. I said myself in 1865, and I believed, that it was out of the range of practical politics—that is to say, the politics of the coming election. When it came to this, that a great jail in the heart of the metropolis was broken open under circumstances which drew the attention of the English people to the state of Ireland, and when in Manchester policemen were murdered in the execution of their duty, at once the whole country became alive to Irish questions, and the question of the Irish Church revived. It came within the range of practical politics." Outrages, however, do not furnish a true motive for doing justice to Ireland or any other land. The motive for doing justice is justice.

During the sixteenth century the Reformers might have made their religion the religion of the country. They stupidly omitted to translate the Bible and the Prayer Book into Irish till the devotion of the friars rendered the task of translation too late. Besides, they neglected to provide an Irish-speaking ministry. In spite of the devotion of prelates like Bedell and of clergy like Skelton, in spite of the devotion of its laity, the members of the Established Church amounted to less than one-eighth of the population, while the Roman Catholics were ten out of every thirteen. Territorially, the Church of Ireland covered every parish in the country, but practically she was the Church of a fraction of the inhabitants. It is common, of course, to connect Celticism and Catholicism, but such a generalisation does not bear critical investigation. The Celtic race prevails in Cornwall, Wales and the Highlands of Scotland, and we all know that Cornwall and Wales are wholly Protestant and that a majority of Highlanders are also Protestant.

In the south and west there were parishes with few members of the Established Church. "It may seem paradoxical," urged Dr. Lee, one of the ablest opponents of disestablishment, "but in many parishes in Ireland the smaller and the more widely scattered the Church population, the more necessary to maintain the Church there." He thought that if the parish church was closed, the few people who came to it would inevitably fall under the influence of Roman Catholicism. He argued that this would be the outcome of disestablishment.

There was another argument founded on the Act of Union. Did not its fifth article declare the unity of the Churches of England and Ireland, providing that "the continuance and preservation of the said united Church as the Established Church of England and Ireland shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the Union"? Relying on this article, Bishop Gregg urged that "Ireland is an integral part of the United Kingdom, the Church of Ireland is an integral part of the United Church. If the Church of Ireland be destroyed, where will be the integrity of the United Kingdom?" It was inevitable that this clause should be invoked, but its invocation was in vain. Constitutionally this argument possesses no value. For no Parliament can bind its successor. In the Instrument of Government of 1654 Oliver Cromwell had pleaded for four fundamental conditions. "Some things," he stated, "are fundamentals, about which I shall deal plainly with you. They may not be parted with, but will, I trust, be delivered over to posterity as being the fruits of our blood and travail." That is, like the framers of the American Constitution, he endeavoured to place certain matters outside the power of Parliament to alter. He failed in this respect completely. In the American Constitution there are fundamental laws, but there are no such laws in our Constitution. Whatever legislation one Parliament makes, any succeeding Parliament can unmake.

Fresh from his victory at the General Election of 1868, Gladstone pressed forward his measure for the disestablishment and the disendowment of the Church of Ireland in the following year. In the House of Lords Archbishop Tait pointed out that disestablishment would be followed by the predominance of Roman Catholicism and the repeal of the Union. That truly great judge, Lord Cairns, attacked the measure on the broad ground that the State had no right to interfere with the execution of a trust so long as it was properly executed and the object of the trust remained. He went on to remark that

the disestablishment of the Irish Church would contravene the Act of Union.

By the Irish Church Act of 1869 the Church of Ireland was disestablished and disendowed. The old Ecclesiastical Courts were abolished, and the Irish bishops lost their seats in the House of Lords. The fabrics of the churches and the cathedrals were handed over to the Irish Church, and so were all private endowments given since 1660. By a curious irony of fate, some of the endowments were bestowed on Maynooth College. A beneficed clergyman might either continue to discharge his duties and draw his income, or accept a lump sum in commutation. The clergy were given this option because they had been the clergy of the State. Had they, for the most part, accepted the lump sum, the prospects of the new body would have vanished. With a splendid self-sacrifice they preferred to trust their financial future to this new body. The last trace of Protestant ascendancy disappeared. O'Connell had conferred on his people civil equality and Gladstone conferred on them religious equality.

Thanks to the self-sacrifice of the clergy, nobly supported by their congregations, the measure of 1869 has, on the whole, worked well. But when we are asked to believe that thanks are almost entirely due to the originator of this Act, we bethink ourselves of the story Provost Salmon used to tell. His story was that there was a sequel to the parable of the Good Samaritan, unrecorded by Holy Writ. The robbers came to hear of the kind treatment their victim had received, and they sent to him one of their number in order to point out that it was due to them that he had been in a position to accept this treatment, and they asked for some token of his gratitude!

From Church Gladstone turned to State. Practically, the land problem had not been touched since 1849. There had been a Land Act passed in 1860 which was meant to stop too frequent evictions. This measure laid down that the landlord could bring no ejectment for non-payment of rent till a year's rent under the contract of tenancy was in arrear. Even when the tenant had been ejected and the landlord had taken possession of the farm, the tenant might apply to the court for his reinstatement if, within six months of his ejection, he paid his rent and costs. The influence of the French Civil Code is to be noted in the clause authorising the tenant to take away with him "all personal chattels, engines, machinery and buildings accessorial thereto affixed to the freehold by the tenant at his own expense." This measure held that the



relationship existing between landlord and tenant was based "on the express or implied contract of the parties, and not upon tenure of service."

As Cromwell had fundamentals, so had Gladstone. Among the "fundamental principles" he adopted in the February and March of 1870 were his opposition to a joint ownership in land and his opposition to fixity, or, as he called it, perpetuity, of tenure. "Shall I really be told," he asked in his speech in the House of Commons delivered on March 11, 1870, "that it is for the interest of the Irish tenant bidding for a farm that the law should say to him, 'Cast aside all providence and forethought; go into the field and bid what you like; drive out of the field the prudent man who means to fulfil his engagement; bid right above him and induce the landlord to give you the farm, and the moment you have got it come forward, go to the public authority, show that the rent is excessive, and that you cannot pay it, and get released'? If I could conceive a plan, first of all, for throwing into confusion the whole agricultural arrangements of the country; secondly, for driving out of the field all solvent and honest men who might be bidders for farms, and might desire to carry on the honourable business of agriculture; thirdly, for carrying widespread demoralisation throughout the mass of the Irish people, I must say, as at present advised—to confine myself to the present, and until otherwise convinced—it is this plan, and this demand, that we should embody in our Bill as a part of permanent legislation a provision by which men shall be told that there shall be an authority always existing ready to release them from the contracts they have deliberately made." It is an interesting speech which loses none of its value when we remember that in his Land Bill of 1881 Gladstone embodied the proposals he had scorned in 1870. The writings of Cardinal Newman were known to the legislator, and the Cardinal remarked: "In a higher world it may be different. But here below to live is to change, and to be perfect is to have changed often." In this sense at least Gladstone was advancing on the path toward perfection.

In land the rule had been that a tenant from year to year, holding under a written agreement, must receive a six months' notice if he did not pay his rent. In practice this was got over by the device of an annual notice to quit. "*Quidquid planatur solo, solo cedit*," ran the maxim, which, to use Mr. Shee's neat translation, meant that tenants' improvements are landlords' perquisites. Ulster was protected by "the custom of the

country." This custom meant that so long as a tenant kept to the conditions of his tenancy and paid his rent, he enjoyed undisturbed possession of his holding. If he gave up possession of it, he was entitled to sell his interest in it. Of course even in the north the landlord might periodically revise the rent, but a rack-rent would have been regarded as a breach of the Ulster custom. If he took over the holding and worked it, he had to buy the tenant-right at a fair value.

In Gladstone's measure of 1870 there is an evident desire to do justice to all. His Land Act of that year gave legal force to the Ulster custom and to the few similar usages prevailing in the other three provinces. In form this measure changed everything; in substance it changed little. It is clear that the legalisation of the Ulster custom in the rest of Ireland conferred a greater benefit on the first generation of tenants, who received it as a gift, than on their successors, who would in time purchase their tenant-right. Moreover, tenants now had security to offer, with the result that in not a few cases the local money-lender succeeded to the position of the landlord. The new measure sought to stop eviction by the indirect method of making it burdensome to the landlord. If the tenant left his farm compulsorily, he received compensation for the disturbance he had suffered, and the landlord had also to pay for the dispossession of his tenant. If the tenant left his land voluntarily, he also received compensation for any improvements he had made. The fact is that except in case of non-payment of rent, bankruptcy or violation of specified conditions of tenancy, the landlord could not resume possession of his land without paying the tenant a fine for disturbance, which might, in some cases, amount to seven years' rent.

Improvements were defined as works adding to the letting-value of the holding, and suitable to it, and also to the crops of the tenant and his unexhausted manure. This Bill was retrospective, rendering the landlord liable for improvements made by the tenants when the law recognised no such liability. If they raised permanent buildings or if they reclaimed waste land, there was no limit of time. If they made other improvements, there was a limit of twenty years. It is obvious that tenants' improvements were now tenants' perquisites.

Gladstone made some admission of two distinct principles. One was the principle of partnership between landlord and tenant, or, in other words, tenant-right. The legislator clearly insisted that his Bill was not meant to give the tenant-at-will

a proprietary right in his holding, though it was certain that the clauses relating to disturbance must produce this result. The second principle was the substitution of peasant proprietorship for tenancy. This object was to be achieved by encouraging the tenants to purchase their holdings. It was a policy adopted in the Church Act, and it was a favourite plan of John Bright. It authorised advances not exceeding two-thirds of the purchase-money, and repayable by an annuity of five per cent. in thirty-five years, to any tenant who desired to purchase his farm.

By this Act the tenants were stimulated to effect improvements, and they accordingly effected them. But—there always are “buts” in legislation—if their rents fell into arrears they had no protection, nor had they any against an unjust increase in rent. It was well to have one of the three “F’s,” fixity of tenure, but another “F” was required to make this effective, and that was a fair rent. It is important to bear in mind that rents for the most part before 1870 were not excessive. It is easy to prove this point. One line of argument is that where tenant-right existed, e.g. in Ulster, the farmer could sell—and did sell—his interest for a large sum. Clearly he could not do this if the rent had been extortionate. Another line of argument is that where subletting prevailed, the farmer could sublet—and did sublet—all his farm or portions of it for a higher rent than he paid. The Bessborough Commission of 1881 confirms this conclusion, for it held that in Ireland it was “unusual to exact what in England would have been considered as a full and fair commercial rent.”

When Arthur Young paid his famous tour to us in the eighteenth century, he considered the rents paid in Ireland to the owner of the land unduly—and often absurdly—low. In 1870 Gladstone declared that in the ninety years that had elapsed since Arthur Young wrote, the rents of Ireland had just doubled and, if Ulster were excluded, had much less than doubled, while in the ninety-eight years the rental of England had trebled, and in ninety-nine years the rental of Scotland had sextupled. The farmers, however, had lacked that security they now received. The old kindly type of landlord had largely disappeared, and the new harsh type, created by the 1849 measure, had appeared.

The year that saw the passing of Gladstone’s Land Bill witnessed the foundation of what developed into the Home Rule League of 1873. Like the leaders of the Nationalist cause in 1798 and in 1848, Isaac Butt was a Protestant. Like



O'Connell, he was a barrister who quickly won a leading position in his profession. The qualities of the advocate were more conspicuous in him than those of the judge. Like O'Connell, he also managed to combine opposite qualities in his political outlook, for he was conservative on one side and revolutionary on another. Unlike O'Connell, he never secured the trust of the priest or the people. Protestants have secured this trust, but Butt was not among their number. Swift, Grattan, Wolfe Tone, Lord Edward FitzGerald and Parnell secured this trust. Butt's character did not sustain his intellect; he was more liked than respected. He was as unstable as water and could not excel. In not a few respects he was another Sheridan. He loved his country, and, unlike some of his predecessors and some of his successors, he did not feel that he must hate England. He sought to change the Union, but he never sought for independence. With his scheme of self-government he failed to combine land reform, and his was a voice crying in the wilderness. Gladstone watched his beginning, and he knew so little of his future attitude to Home Rule as to say in 1871: "Can any sensible man, can any rational man, suppose that at this time of day, in this condition of the world, we are going to disintegrate the great capital institutions of the country for the purpose of making ourselves ridiculous in the sight of all mankind, and crippling any power we possess for bestowing benefits, through legislation, on the country to which we belong?"

A young man in Parliament, Charles Stewart Parnell, was also watching the career of Butt, and was pondering on the uselessness of his methods. He belonged to a distinguished Anglo-Irish family, and on the side of his mother, a striking woman, he had American blood in his veins. To the strong race to which he belonged, the Anglo-Irish, he came to be the type of politician its members detested, and they regarded him as an utterly unscrupulous man. They were not quite right. He was indeed a man without scruples, but not without honour. He had little regard for truth and he had just as little horror of crime. To the other race he was a hero on a level higher than Daniel O'Connell. He is a less attractive character than the Liberator. To both were common that tenacity of purpose, that hold upon fact, that resistless energy, and, above all, that dominating force, which overawed their party. Like O'Connell, he came to lead a revolution, though he himself was in no wise revolutionary. Unlike O'Connell, he knew nothing about the past of Ireland, and he cared nothing



about it: he was utterly absorbed in the present. His intellect was far more business-like than the Liberator's. He was anxious to develop the industrial resources of his country in general and of his own estates in particular—for he was a landlord.

Parnell's character was cast in a large mould, with enormous defects corresponding with eminent virtues. In his intense pride and his intense self-confidence he felt that it was possible for him to attain the utmost height of his political ambition. He entered the House of Commons in 1875, and within two years he was recognised as a man of mark. He refused to yield to pressure, and men came to know he would not yield to pressure. "De l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace," was his motto. As with Cæsar on the Ides of March, as with Napoleon at Waterloo, his star, in which he believed so profoundly, was to fail him before his prime, when he was no more than forty-four.

With all his faults—and they were not few—he was a remarkable Irish leader, a born party-leader, exercising the most absolute sway over his followers. What was the secret of his influence? It certainly did not lie in his eloquence. He had not a trace of readiness of rhetoric or of the Irish brogue, having in fact a distinct English accent. He said precisely what he meant or at least what he meant to say. His own party felt that his curt approval was worth working for and his curt disapproval worth avoiding. By them he was blindly trusted for his abilities and for the amount of respect, *pace* his biographer Mr. Barry O'Brien, he invariably outwardly showed them. He, however, had not an intimate friend among them. They were devoted to him, but there was nothing personal in their devotion. He possessed strength and therefore success because he did not share the weaknesses of his followers. His opponents learnt to fear one who never feared for himself. *Sic volo, sic jubeo*, was his system, and it produced among his followers the most implicit obedience.

What was the plan by which Parnell gained his place in the House of Commons? He set himself to master parliamentary procedure in order to display to his own party the contempt which he felt for the House of Commons. He learnt the rules of the House, and then proceeded to break them. He was not perhaps a parliamentary strategist of high rank, but he was a tactician of the very highest. He now and then held the reins over his followers lightly when he saw that their feelings required an outburst, but they all knew that at a

second's notice the reins could be tightened. Stringent rules were devised between 1878 and 1888 in order to control Parnell's obstructive tactics in the House of Commons. But it is worth while stating that if he had never existed, such rules would have become necessary. All we can say is that he hastened the existence of such rules. That he was weakening the authority of the House of Commons was less than nothing to him. He had no desire to please the House of Commons. He had every desire to please the Irish in Ireland and in the United States. In the latter country he openly avowed that "none of us, whether we are in America, or in Ireland, or wherever we may be, will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England." His avowals in England were not quite so candid.

In 1879 the harvest was bad, the worst since the great famine. Michael Davitt was the son of a Mayo farmer who had suffered eviction after the famine, and he brooded over the wrongs of his family until he came to hate England as intensely as did Parnell himself. The agrarian views of J. F. Lalor were his own. In 1879 Davitt set on foot in his Land League an agitation against the payment of rent, but Parnell soon became the master-mind of the new organisation. At the end of 1879 Parnell advised the farmers to keep a firm grip of their homesteads, and pay no more rent than they thought fair. Davitt improved on this when he said that "rent for land under any circumstances, prosperous or bad times, is nothing more than an unjust and immoral tax upon the industry of a people." He confessed that the object of his Land League was the complete destruction of landlordism. Out of the seven first chosen officers of this League, no less than four had been Fenians. Again murder and outrage were the order of the day.

The next development in the policy of the new leader of the Irish party was the use of boycotting. The peasants of Germany had adopted this plan in 1525, and it was revived in Ireland in 1880. "What are you to do," Parnell asked at Ennis, "to a tenant who bids for a farm from which his neighbour has been evicted?" "Kill him, shoot him," cried the audience. With the coldness combined with the intensity of his nature Parnell pointed out another way, which he did not shrink from calling Christian. "When a man takes a farm," he laid down, "from which another has been evicted, you must show him in the streets of the town, you must show him at the shop-counter, you must show him in the fair and in the

market-place, and even in the house of worship, by leaving him severely alone, by putting him into a moral Coventry, by isolating him from his kind as if he was a leper of old—you must show him your detestation of the crime he has committed, and you may depend upon it that there will be no man so full of avarice, so lost to shame, as to dare the public opinion of all right-thinking men and to transgress your unwritten code of laws." This spirit of social ostracism is easy to evoke; it is not nearly so easy to allay. For the moment it gained the ends Parnell desired. There was a price to be paid for its use, and that price was the increasing gulf that yawned between the two great races in Ireland. Nor did the Land League stop with the boycott.

Some landlords were poor, and could not afford to reduce their rents. Lord Mountmorres was one of these unfortunate men. Evictions had taken place, but he had evicted no one. In September 1880 he was shot dead. So great was the power of the Land League that the owner of the nearest house refused to admit the body, that no undertaker would send a hearse to convey it to the grave. There was indeed abhorrence, but it was abhorrence of the victim, not of the crime.

In 1893 Gladstone said, "I must make one admission, and that is, that without the Land League the Act of 1881 would not now be on the Statute Book." This measure was the Magna Carta of the farmer, and in it Gladstone admitted the three "F's" he had formerly thrown to the winds of heaven. Ulster tenant-right was at last extended to the whole country. Fixity of tenure was bestowed on the tenant at the expense of the landlord, who received no compensation. The principle of partnership between landlord and tenant was frankly recognised. The régime of status, notwithstanding the *obiter dictum* of Sir Henry Maine, replaced the régime of contract. The leading feature of the new measure was the creation of a Court to regulate rent. The landlord could not refuse to take the rent fixed by this Court. There was, however, no definition of fair rent, though Mr. Law, the Irish Attorney-General, proposed an excellent one. The Bessborough Commission, which laid the basis of this measure, proposed that "a rent which was paid at any time within the last twenty years, and which continued for not less than ten years to be regularly paid," should always be assumed to be a fair rent, unless the conditions had altered to the detriment of the tenant.



Fixity of tenure was limited to a lease of fifteen years. During that period rents could neither be altered nor could tenants, if they paid them, be evicted. Free sale was guaranteed by a provision granting the tenant power to sell his interest in his holding. Though the Bessborough Commission had just declared that overrenting in Ireland was not frequent, the Sub-Commissioners appointed proceeded to cut down rents thirty and forty per cent. It is obvious that their fixed belief was that their duty consisted not in regulating but in reducing rent. As a commentary on their proceedings, while rent was steadily falling under the action of the Sub-Commissioners, the price of tenant-right under the action of competition was just as steadily rising. Gladstone was convinced that the effects of his 1881 measure would probably raise rents. The social fabric would rest on securer foundations, and this security would soon "repay the landlord for any incidental mischief of the Act twofold or threefold." This surmise was entirely unfounded. Commenting on this Bill M. Laveleye observes, "*Les lois agraires que M. Gladstone a fait voter pour l'Irlande et que l'on trouve déjà insuffisantes portent au principe de la propriété et du libre contrat une atteinte plus radicale que ne l'ont fait la révolution française et même la Terreur. . . . A moins de confiscation on ne peut guère aller plus loin.*" In truth freedom of contract entirely disappeared.

The Act of 1870 gave facilities to a tenant desirous to purchase his farm, and these facilities were increased in 1881. The Land Commission were empowered to advance no less than three-quarters of the purchase-money to anyone who wanted to buy out his land. Yet only 731 farmers took advantage of this generous clause, and not quite a quarter of a million was therefore advanced. As soon as an Act of Parliament works in actual life, it remedies some ills, but inevitably discloses others. All legislation, in fact, consists in the attempt to secure as many advantages and as few disadvantages as possible. The Act of 1881 did much for the farmer whose rent was not in arrears, but it took little account of the farmer whose rent was in arrears. A Bill passed the following year, extinguishing arrears of rent on the payment of a full year's rent by the farmer, to which the State added a grant equal to another year's rent.

Parnell desired the success of the measure of 1881, which exceeded his most sanguine hopes. It pleased his Irish, but might it not displease his American allies? There were enough crimes in the country to satisfy the Fenians in the United



## FROM DISESTABLISHMENT TO LAND PURCHASE 175

States. In October 1881 Parnell was arrested. "We arrested Parnell," confessed Lord Cowper, the Lord Lieutenant, "because we thought it absurd to put the lesser men in jail and to leave him at large."

Lord Russell gave the Parnell Commission the following table of agrarian crimes for the whole of Ireland :

	Two years, 1880-1. Average for two years.	Total for 1882 alone.
Murders . . . . .	12½	26
Firing at persons . . . . .	45½	58
Incendiary fires and arson . . . . .	283	281
Cattle outrages . . . . .	128	144
Threatening letters . . . . .	1,764	2,009
Firing into dwellings . . . . .	105	117
Totals . . . . .	<u>2,338</u>	<u>2,635</u>

It is the bare truth to say that when Lord Spencer went to Ireland in May 1882, society was on the point of dissolution. Overtures had passed, in the meantime, between Parnell and the Liberal party. The policy of Mr. Forster, the Irish Secretary, had been reversed, and Lord Frederick Cavendish replaced him. Lord Spencer and Lord Frederick Cavendish entered Dublin together. The latter met Mr. Thomas Burke, the Under-Secretary, at the entrance-gate to the Phoenix Park, and on Saturday, May 6, 1882, the assassins met them, and both were murdered by the Invincibles. Lord Acton used to speak of the numbers of times political assassinations have deflected the course of history during the nineteenth century. There is no more tragic instance than this. Mr. Forster's policy of force was to have been replaced by the policy of peace, but that was now at an end. Parnell felt the blow cruelly. "How can I carry on a public agitation," he asked, "if I am to be stabbed in the back in this way?"

Lord Spencer and his Chancellor, Sir Edward Sullivan, determined to oppose force by force. They suspended trial by jury; they extended the summary powers of magistrates; they suppressed seditious prints and public meetings; and they permitted the employment of inquisitorial means of detecting crime. The foundations of society were rocking, but the policy of the Government enabled them to recover their steadiness. The Phoenix Park murderers were convicted and hanged, and with their conviction an appreciable change passed over the country. The appalling total of agrarian crimes in 1882 fell to 870 in 1883, and to 762 in 1884. Clearly

force is a remedy. Mr. Forster fought public sentiment, not crime, and he failed. Lord Spencer fought crime, not public sentiment, and he succeeded. The first Reign of Terror in Ireland was at an end.

Lord Morley tells us that he once asked an Irishman of consummate experience and equitable mind, with no leanings that he knew of to political nationalism, whether the task of any later ruler of Ireland was comparable to Lord Spencer's. "Assuredly not," he replied; "in 1882 Ireland seemed to be literally a society on the eve of dissolution. The Invincibles still roved with knives about the streets of Dublin. Discontent had been stirred in the ranks of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and a dangerous mutiny had broken out in the metropolitan force. Over half the country the demoralisation of every class, the terror, the fierce hatred, the universal distrust, had grown to an incredible pitch. The moral cowardice of what ought to have been the governing class was astounding. The landlords would hold meetings and agree not to go beyond a certain abatement, and then they would go individually and privately offer to the tenant a far greater abatement. Even the agents of the law and the courts were shaken in their duty. The power of random arrest and detention under the Coercion Act of 1881 had not improved the *moral* of magistrates and police. The sheriff would let the word get out that he was coming to make a seizure, and profess surprise that the cattle had vanished. The whole countryside turned out in thousands in half the counties in Ireland to attend flaming meetings, and if a man did not attend, angry neighbours trooped up to know the reason why. The clergy hardly stirred a finger to restrain the wildness of the storm; some did their best to raise it. All that was what Lord Spencer had to deal with: the very foundations of the social fabric rocking."

Lord Spencer persevered and Lord Spencer won. The cause of law and the cause of order at last triumphed. The Ministry, however, of which he formed part was beaten at the General Election in 1885, when the Conservative Ministry of Lord Salisbury came into power. Lord Ashbourne, the Lord Chancellor, attempted to grapple with the land question, and he grappled with it most successfully. The Liberal Land Acts made dual ownership possible, whereas the Conservative Land Act of 1885 made single ownership possible. In order to give practical effect to this change in policy, the Government advanced five millions. When a landlord was willing to sell his estate, the farmer was lent not three-quarters but the whole

## FROM DISESTABLISHMENT TO LAND PURCHASE 177

of the amount required to buy his land, and he was to repay the loan by forty-nine annual instalments at the rate of four per cent. This measure was marvellously popular. Lord Salisbury and the Conservatives he led definitely adopted land-purchase as the policy of their party.

## CHAPTER XIV

### HOME RULE

IN order to understand the history of the Home Rule movement and its developments, we must here retrace our steps for a while, glance at the causes which led to its inception and birth in the early seventies of the last century, and trace its growth up to the year (1885) with which the previous chapter concludes.

The history of Ireland during the nineteenth century may be summed up under three main heads—Religion, Land, National Rights. Though no one of these three can properly be considered in isolation from the others—since each has had its reaction upon the rest—yet it is encouraging to observe that the sectarian and agrarian controversies which so long complicated and embittered the relations between England and Ireland and the relations between various sections of Irishmen have (if we regard Irish history as a whole) become progressively less acute.

During the last half-century religious controversy has, except in North-east Ulster, become a relatively unimportant element in Irish life. Between 1779 and 1793 the Irish Parliament swept away most of the statutory disabilities affecting Irish Catholics, and O'Connell all but completed the work. Drummond's statesmanship put an end to the long miseries of the Tithe War. Finally, in 1869, the principle of legal equality in matters of religion reached its logical conclusion with the disestablishment of the Irish Church.

The social effects of the Penal Code have not even yet altogether disappeared ; for it is easier to repeal a statute than to annul its consequences. For the moment it is enough to note that, whereas Catholic relief in one form or another was the main preoccupation of the early nineteenth century, as we approach the last quarter of that century this question slips into the background, its place being taken by a struggle for the possession of the soil and by the demand (now formulated afresh) for national self-government.



Within five years from the formation of the Land League, victory declared itself decisively on the side of the tenants. Claims far exceeding those so often rejected in the past were conceded. By the Act of 1881 the occupier was rooted in the soil ; by that of 1885 ownership itself became for him an attainable ideal. Many years had still to pass before the ideal could for the majority become an accomplished fact ; but principles had been established from which there was henceforth no appeal. Thus after 1885 the Land question, in its turn, takes second place ; and a national rather than an agrarian movement becomes the dominant factor in the history of the succeeding years.

It is a melancholy commentary upon the hopes entertained by men of goodwill that the term "Home Rule" should since have gathered to itself so many angry associations. For the policy so named (at the instance of Professor Galbraith, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin) was devised by Isaac Butt as a *via media*, a way of appeasement, as well in respect of the relations of the two islands as of Irishmen with one another. The fiercest opponents of the Legislative Union had been peers and country-gentlemen, merchants, Protestant-Ascendency men, members of Orange Lodges. How much of their opposition may be ascribed to patriotic, how much to particularist motives, it is as unnecessary as it would be futile to inquire. But some words of Grattan's may be quoted not inappositely to the position occupied by these men's descendants of the later nineteenth century :

"How came the Irish Parliament," he asked, after the passing of the Legislative Union, "in 1779 to demand a Free Trade, in 1782 to demand a Free Parliament ? Because they lived in Ireland. Because they lived in their own country and because at that time they had a country. Because, influenced as many of its members were by places, uninfluenced as many of them were by popular representation, yet were they influenced by popular sympathy. They did not care to see every day faces that looked shame upon them ; they did not care to stand in the sphere of their own infamy. Therefore they acted, as the Irish absentees of the very same time did not act. They saved their country because they lived in it, as others betrayed their country because they lived out of it."

After the Union the environment, and consequently the outlook, of the Irish gentry rapidly changed. One after another the Dublin mansions of the "Parliament men" were sold, and are to-day occupied as offices, hotels or tenement

houses. With few exceptions the great families removed to England, and quickly became immersed in English political and social life. Though they retained their Irish estates, Ireland and her affairs ceased to be their chief care. Nor was this example without effect upon the smaller landowners, the professional and commercial classes. With increased facilities of travel, it became more and more the custom to send children to be educated in English schools and universities. The expansion of the Empire, the growth of British commerce, the great rewards which the English Bar and the higher Civil Service held out to able and ambitious men—these and similar incentives conspired to attract into other spheres than Irish politics the younger generations of the Irish governing class. That “popular sympathy” of which Grattan spoke had less and less influence with them; the sphere in which they stood was no longer bounded by the shores of Ireland.

Finally, the Catholic Emancipation movement, essential as it was to the ultimate peace of Ireland, had had the unhappy result of arousing sectarian controversy and of antagonising those Protestants, whether among the gentry or the merchants, who, in other circumstances, might have supported repeal; just as, later on, Home Rule itself was to be damned in the eyes of nearly all landowners by its incidental association with agrarianism. It was enough for most Protestant landowners that the leaders of the National movement—O’Connell in the one case, Parnell in the other—should be in their eyes openly hostile to the privileges and property of (respectively) their Church and their Order.

“Simple repeal,” then, Butt saw clearly, could not secure that co-operation of all conditions of Irishmen which he desired. Moreover, the principle of Legislative Union was by now accepted as a cardinal point of policy by both British parties.

Might not, however, a plan be devised which, whilst appealing to the sentiment of Irish Nationalism, dormant but not dead among Irish Protestants (of whom Butt was one), and whilst offering opportunity for more speedy redress of national grievances than experience had shown the Parliament of the United Kingdom to be willing, or perhaps able, to afford, should yet insure England against any recurrence of those perils and perplexities which, rightly or wrongly, were held to be inherent in the pre-Union system of co-ordinate Legislatures? Butt’s answer to this question is given in a book entitled *Irish Federalism, its Meaning, its Objects, and its Hopes*. The Legislative Union was to remain, and the assembly at

Westminster to continue the sole Sovereign Parliament in these islands. Two distinct sessions might, he suggested, be held in each year, one for Imperial, the other for British business. To the first Irish members would be admitted as provided by the Act of Union; from the second they would be excluded. In Ireland itself a Parliament should be established to deal with purely Irish matters, including the raising and disposal of the revenues of Ireland, subject, however, to such taxation as Westminster might impose for Imperial purposes. To give effect to this policy Butt founded the Home Government Association of Ireland.

The new movement began under the happiest auguries. At the first Conference of the Association in 1870 (to quote the words of one who was present), "the Orangeman and the Ultramontane, the staunch Conservative and the sturdy Liberal, the Nationalist Repealer and the Imperial Unionist, the Fenian sympathiser and the devoted Loyalist, sat in free and friendly counsel, discussing a question which at any time for fifty years previously would have instantly sundered such men into a dozen factions arrayed in stormy conflict."

It is, indeed, remarkable that such a gathering should have adopted, without a dissentient voice, a resolution declaring: "That it is the opinion of this meeting that the true remedy for the evils of Ireland is the establishment of an Irish Parliament with full control over our domestic affairs." At a subsequent meeting the "essential principle, objects and only objects" of the Association were declared to be as follows:

"To obtain for our country the right and privilege of managing our own affairs by a Parliament assembled in Ireland, composed of her Majesty the Sovereign and her successors, and the Lords and Commons of Ireland;

"To secure for that Parliament, under a federal arrangement, the right of legislating for and regulating all matters relating to the internal affairs of Ireland and control over Irish resources and revenues, subject to the obligation of contributing a just proportion of the Imperial expenditure;

"To leave to an Imperial Parliament the power of dealing with all questions affecting the Imperial Crown and Government, legislation regarding the Colonies and other dependencies of the Crown, the relations of the United Empire with foreign States, and all matters appertaining to the defence and stability of the Empire at large;

"To attain such adjustment of the relations between the two countries without any interference with the prerogative



of the Crown or any disturbance of the principles of the Constitution."

In the foregoing paragraphs is contained the first and fullest statement of the policy known henceforward as Home Rule. It is distinguished from the earlier proposal of "Simple Repeal" by retention of the principle of Legislative Union, and from the system it was intended to amend by assertion of the constitutional right of Irishmen to be bound, so far as their domestic affairs were concerned, only by the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland.

For a time all went well. At the General Election of 1874, the first held in Ireland under the provisions of the Ballot Act, though on a very restricted franchise, sixty Home Rulers were returned to Parliament. Among the county members were many representatives of the old landowning families which both before and since the Union had enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the Irish representation, but which a few years later were fated to lose almost all political power. A brother of O'Connor Don was returned for Sligo, Edmund Dease for the Queen's County, George Bryan for Kilkenny, Lord Francis Conyngham for Clare, the Hon. Charles French for Kilkenny, the Hon. Wilfred O'Callaghan and Captain the Hon. Charles William White for Tipperary. Three Englishmen were returned as Irish Home Rulers, Mitchell Henry, Sir George Bowyer, and Lord Robert Montagu. The bulk of the members, however, were business or professional men, whilst Isaac Butt himself was the son of a County Donegal clergyman, and the accepted, though unofficial, leader of the Irish Bar. Butt and his friends did not constitute an Irish party as that term was afterwards understood. They did, it is true, engage "to each other and to the country," that "by taking counsel together, by making all reasonable concessions to the opinions of each other, by avoiding as far as possible all isolated action and by sustaining and supporting each other in the course which may be deemed best calculated to promote the grand object of National Self-government," they would observe unity of action in the interests of the Home Rule cause. But the pledge thus taken was very different from that subsequently imposed during Parnell's leadership; nor could it well have been more stringent, seeing that the members of the group had been returned and sat and voted as members of the existing Liberal and Conservative parties.

It was with high hopes of early success that Butt on June 30, 1874, moved the appointment of a Select Committee to



inquire into the nature and extent of the demand of the people of Ireland. But the Government would have none of it, nor were the official Liberals more friendly; and the motion was rejected by 458 votes to 61.

The story of the next five years can be told in a few words. In each successive session a similar motion for inquiry met with a similar fate. At length, in the autumn of 1879, dispirited, worn out, and broken-hearted, Butt died. Regardless of self and animated by a chivalrous sense of public honour, he had a few weeks before, though harassed by debts incurred through single-minded devotion to the national cause, indignantly refused the office of Lord Chief Justice of Ireland.

Before passing on to those events which followed the rise of Parnell, it may be useful to consider in some detail the causes of Butt's failure. In the first place, the union of discordant sections which made such a movement as his possible had been due in part to a peculiar and transitory conjunction of affairs. By many, perhaps by most, members of the Church of Ireland, the Disestablishment Act was held to be a breach of a fundamental condition of the Legislative Union. Regarding themselves as abandoned and betrayed by English politicians, they were unwontedly ready to make common cause with those who for other reasons desired constitutional change. But, as time went on and the irritation thus aroused died away, their now traditional reliance upon the British connection began to revive.

On the other hand, the hopes of the more extreme Nationalists had been in 1870 at their lowest ebb. The insurrection of '67 had proved even less formidable than that of '48. With the exception of certain irreconcilables, at all times formidable rather because of their enthusiasm than of their number, this section was not indisposed to give Butt's policy a trial. The older men among them had supported the constitutional agitation of O'Connell or the still constitutional early efforts of Young Ireland. Despairing of reform, they had become revolutionaries: despairing of revolution, they again turned their eyes towards reform. A few members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood joined Butt; a larger number opposed him; the majority stood aside, not hoping much from the new movement, but unwilling to hinder it.

Speedy success was therefore essential if the existing combination was not to dissolve. And Butt, unhappily for himself and for the two countries which he loved with equal sincerity if with unequal passion, was the last man to command success.

Genial, chivalrous, lovable, incapable of countenancing fraud or violence, admirable alike as a thinker, an orator and a man, he possessed neither the arts of a demagogue nor the fanaticism of a revolutionary. His one weapon was reason, the least powerful of any. He revered the House of Commons; and the House of Commons treated him with contempt, half kindly, half insolent. To make matters worse, his pleading in Parliament was not reinforced by any such popular combination in Ireland itself as had enabled O'Connell—and was soon to enable Parnell—to wring a respectful hearing from their least willing auditors. Confident, to use his own words, if once he could “get liberal-minded Englishmen fairly to consider how they could redress the grievance of Irish misgovernment they would come to the conclusion that they had but one way of giving us good government, and that was by allowing us to govern ourselves,” he made no effort to excite an extra-Parliamentary agitation. Very different was the mind of the man who was about to succeed him. “Butt,” said Parnell, “is hopeless. He is too much under the English influence. He wants to please the English. But you may be sure that when we are pleasing the English we are not winning. We must not care for English opinion. We must go right on in the way Ireland wants.”

Parnell's view was very naturally shared by the majority of his fellow-countrymen; for, though Butt's personal integrity was beyond question, there had been too many quite recent instances in which Irish members had sacrificed their independence in return for ministerial favour, not to create a suspicion of any who seemed solicitous of the good opinion of Westminster. Conversely, to the man who flouted that opinion, single-minded sincerity was universally attributed. Hence when Butt died in the early summer of 1879, Parnell (by now the most conspicuous of the “Seven Champions of Obstruction”) was designated by the popular voice as the new chief.

And if the masses of the people instinctively trusted Parnell, Parnell placed his supreme trust in them.

“I should be deceiving you,” he said to a great gathering at Westport about this time, “if I told you there was any use in relying upon the exertions of Irish members of Parliament on your behalf. . . . Above all things, remember that God helps him who helps himself, and that by showing such public spirit as you have shown here to-day, by coming in your thousands in the face of every difficulty, you will do more to show the landlords the necessity of dealing justly with

you than if you had 150 Irish members in the House of Commons."

On the Irish tenant-farmers, then, Parnell relied for that extra-Parliamentary support which he knew to be essential, but not on them alone. Already he was in touch with individual members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the great Fenian organisation, small in numbers but active in Ireland, active and numerous in the United States.

The revolutionary character of Fenian aims, the crimes of which individual Fenians had been guilty, should not blind us to the fact that in that party were to be found some of the bravest and most incorruptible of the soldiers who have fought for Freedom. To such men the compromises, intrigues and rivalries of Parliamentary life are intolerable. Let one of them speak for himself: "People do not become Revolutionists for the fun of the thing. Every Fenian carried his life in his hand. There is not much fun in that. Why were we Fenians? Because in Fenianism was the only hope for Ireland. Parliamentarianism had always been contemptible. It was worse, it was mischievous. The London Parliament was simply a school for anglicanising Irishmen. We hated the thing. But if there was the slightest chance of getting an Irish Parliament by constitutional means, the vast majority of Fenians would be constitutionalists. A real Irish Parliament, not a sham, would have satisfied the great majority of our people all the time. . . . Here was a new man with new methods. There was no chance of English Society seizing him, for he was making himself detestable to all Englishmen. Ought he not to get a trial, ought not his methods to get a trial? That is what I thought, and, as the years passed, Parnell impressed me more and more with his power, and ultimately I left the Fenian organisation and joined him."

Another Fenian, a member of the American Clan-na-Gael, is recorded by Parnell's biographer as expressing himself in almost identical terms: "Parnell's actions in Parliament had made people think that something might be done with the Parliamentarians after all. Parliamentarianism was apparently becoming" (the words will ring strangely in English ears) "a respectable thing. It might be possible to touch it without being contaminated."

On his side Parnell was not averse from receiving assistance from any body of Irishmen, provided always it was given upon his own terms. In the long run the Fenian body as a whole declined to recognise Parliamentarianism, and those Fenians who



gave it their active support were expelled from the Brotherhood. Nevertheless, such individual support continued to be given both in and out of Parliament.

It will appear from what has been said that in Parnell's view the Irish members at Westminster were a spear-head behind which was to be thrown the weight of an organised people. The forging of such a spear-head was his first Parliamentary task.

From the General Election of 1880 sprang the Irish party, which, with varying fortune, was destined to play so great a part in the public life of these islands during the next thirty-eight years. It was some time, indeed, before the new policy of independent opposition was generally accepted; but before the next dissolution took place the idea was firmly rooted in the Irish mind. Henceforward, there was to be but one solid body of Irish Nationalist representatives, acting, sitting and voting together, and bound by the strictest tie of honour neither to solicit nor accept any place or preferment from any Government whatsoever, so long as they remained members of the House of Commons.

The effect of the new departure was quickly felt. Between 1876 and 1879 Bills for the reform of the Irish Land Laws had been on five several occasions unceremoniously rejected; and Mr. Gladstone himself has candidly confessed that he thought the Irish question had been settled by the Church Act of 1869 and the Land Act of 1870. Now, within a year of the meeting of the new Parliament the "Three F's" hitherto refused were embodied in a Government measure; and before five years had passed the two great English parties were vying with one another in their zeal to find the final solution of that Land question, the very existence of which they had each vehemently denied.

But though Parnell honestly desired agrarian reform, this was not the thing nearest to his heart. Wiser than those (and they have been found in many camps) who thought always of the Irish question in terms of material things, he neither feared nor hoped that prosperity would wean the Irish people from Nationalism. He held that "the better off the people are, the better Nationalists they will be; the starving man is not a good Nationalist." But neither was increased prosperity the sole or principal end in view. "I wish to see the tenant farmer prosperous," he told the people of Galway, "but large and important as the class is, constituting as they do, with their wives and families, the majority of the people of the



country, I would not have taken off my coat and gone into this work if I had not known that we were laying the foundation in this movement for the regeneration of our legislative independence."

By 1885, then, the fight for the land was won. Nor did victory in the other and greater contest appear remote. Mr. Chamberlain, the energetic chief of the Radicals, had condemned "that irritating anachronism—Dublin Castle," and had spoken (though in general terms) of devolving responsibility upon local bodies. Mr. Gladstone had let it be known that he was not indisposed to consider the propriety of constitutional change. Nor was the Conservative party, at that time, committed in the contrary sense. Lord Randolph Churchill, who occupied in his own party a position not unlike that of Mr. Chamberlain among their opponents, had shown himself markedly friendly to the Irish Nationalist members of Parliament. Lord Carnarvon, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland during the brief Conservative administration of 1885, was a declared Home Ruler. During the autumn of that year he had several interviews with Parnell, in the course of which, whilst very properly declining to commit his colleagues, he in no wise sought to conceal his personal convictions.

In the end the Conservative Government decided to refuse Parnell's terms; but this decision was not known until after the General Election of 1886, at which the votes of the Irish in England were thrown into the Conservative scale.

By this election Parnell's hands were immensely strengthened. A great extension of the Irish county franchise had taken effect, and its results were seen in the returns. In three of the four provinces, every county and every borough was carried by Nationalists—and half Ulster as well, including the city of Londonderry and one division of Belfast. The "Nominal Home Rulers"—whose full acquiescence in Parnell's policy was doubtful—disappeared, their places being taken by new men. The total strength of the party was increased to 85. The returns in Great Britain itself were indecisive, 249 Conservatives being elected and 335 Liberals. The Irish party held the balance of power.

To this fact has commonly been attributed Mr. Gladstone's formal declaration in favour of Home Rule; and no one with any political experience will suppose it to have been without importance—perhaps decisive importance. But to regard it as the sole reason is to do less than justice to that great

Englishman's memory. His speeches, and still more clearly his letters, both published and unpublished, show that his mind had for some years past been setting in this direction ; whilst it is upon record that, before the result of the election was known, he had privately offered Lord Salisbury his support in the event of the Conservatives themselves deciding to deal with the Irish demand. Moreover, there is substance in the plea he afterwards advanced that until this election there had been no clear proof that Ireland was behind the Home Rule movement. "It came to this," he said to Parnell's biographer : "we granted a fuller franchise to Ireland in 1884, and Ireland then sent 85 (Nationalist) members to the Imperial Parliament. That settled the question. When people express their determination in that decisive way, you must give them what they ask."

At any rate, whether rightly or wrongly, one of the two great British parties was now committed to the Home Rule policy, so far as the declared convictions of its leader could pledge it. Parnell at once decided to throw in his lot with the Liberals, and on an amendment to the address succeeded in defeating the Conservative Ministry.

The Bill introduced by Mr. Gladstone, after his accession to office in 1885, followed, in its general framework, the federal designs of Isaac Butt. To an Irish Parliament of two Houses and to an Executive responsible to it were to be committed the management and control of Irish affairs ; to the Imperial Parliament were to be reserved, *inter alia*, all matters touching the Crown, peace or war, foreign and colonial relations, titles of honour, treason, trade and coinage. The Irish Parliament was expressly precluded from making any laws respecting the endowment of religion or in restraint of educational freedom, or relating to Customs or Excise. The police were to constitute a "reserved service," but ultimately to be handed over. Ireland's contribution to the Imperial revenue was to be one-fifteenth of the whole. All questions which might arise as to the powers of the Irish Parliament were to be decided by the Judicial Committee of the English Privy Council. On one material point only did the Bill depart from Butt's programme. Notwithstanding the reservation to the Imperial Parliament of so many vital matters (notably Customs and Excise, which at that time produced about three-fourths of the Irish revenue), Irish members were henceforth to find no place in that assembly.

The fate of the measure is well known. Several of Mr. Gladstone's most influential colleagues had already notified

their dissent from his policy, and one of them, Lord Hartington, moved the rejection of the Bill. With him were Chamberlain and John Bright and many of lesser note. The Bill was rejected on the second reading by 343 votes to 313 ; and after the subsequent dissolution and general election, the Unionists (as the allied forces of the Conservatives and dissentient-Liberals soon came to be called) assumed the reins of power, which they continued to hold, with one brief three-years' interval, during the ensuing twenty years.

But, in spite of this reverse, the prospects of the Home Rule party never seemed brighter than in the earlier part of this period. The respective chiefs of the allied Liberal-Irish armies were (now that Lord Beaconsfield was dead) universally acknowledged to be the greatest political leaders of their time. Mr. Gladstone threw into the work of converting his countrymen a fiery energy unequalled even in any of his earlier campaigns ; and his enthusiasm communicated itself to the rank and file. Irish Nationalists, from pariahs became the "white-headed boys" of the Liberal platform. One incident, particularly, left a lasting impression on the English mind. *The Times* newspaper was then the determined—even the violent—foe of Irish Nationalism. In their anxiety to discredit the Irish leader and his party, its directors permitted themselves to become the dupes of a clever but unscrupulous and broken man, one Richard Pigott. Among other documents purchased from him was a letter, ostensibly signed by Parnell, couched in such terms as to throw doubt (to put it mildly) upon the sincerity of the Irish leader's public condemnation of the Phoenix Park murders. Thereupon, in a series of articles entitled "Parnellism and Crime," accusations of the gravest kind were launched against Parnell and certain of his associates. Nothing less than the credit of the whole Home Rule movement was at stake ; and the Government, at Parnell's instance, forthwith appointed a Special Commission of three judges to investigate the whole series of charges. The trial—for trial it was, in substance though not in form—excited intense interest throughout the United Kingdom. It had a startling climax. Under the merciless cross-examination of the great Irish advocate Sir Charles Russell (afterwards Lord Russell of Killowen), Pigott broke down utterly. That night he signed a confession that the letters which he had sold to *The Times* had been forged by himself. Ten days later he died by his own hand.

With the revelation of the forgery *The Times* case collapsed.



Certain of the minor charges were found, in the opinion of the Commission, to have been substantiated, others to have been without foundation. On this point it may be sufficient to quote Parnell's own comment when the findings were made known to him in general outline by the Secretary to the Commission: "Well, between ourselves, I think that is just about what I should have said myself." At any rate, nobody cared about the rest of the business; the letters were the thing, and the letters were false. It must be said of the English that, once convinced that they have wronged a man, no people are more generous in their amends. Parnell in 1890 became a popular hero in Great Britain—a position which he accepted with his usual frigid composure. But it meant much to his cause.

By this time the Unionist administration had become sensibly weakened. Its majority in the House of Commons had declined from 114 to 70. A fresh general election could not be long deferred, and the Liberal Home Rulers were confident of victory. Then, on a sudden, came the divorce proceedings in which Parnell was cited as co-respondent.

Into the details of that affair it is unnecessary to enter: we are here concerned only with its political consequences. Certain prominent Nonconformist leaders at once raised an outcry; but, even in England, opinion was generally favourable to Parnell's continuance in political life, whilst Nationalist Ireland was all but unanimous in his support. At the opening of the new session Parnell was unanimously re-elected chairman of the Irish party. But, meantime, the pressure of the Dissenting chapels had proved too much for Mr. Gladstone. On that same evening which witnessed Parnell's re-election by his colleagues, a letter addressed by Mr. Gladstone to Mr. John Morley was given to the Press. The letter conveyed an expression of the writer's opinion that "notwithstanding the splendid services rendered by Mr. Parnell to his country, his continuance at the present moment in the leadership would be productive of consequences disastrous in the highest degree to the cause of Ireland," and contained a further passage, obscurely worded, which appeared to many to hint, that in the event of Parnell's refusal to comply with this view, Mr. Gladstone himself would retire from the Liberal leadership.

It is very doubtful whether Gladstone had any such intention. He seems to have expected that Parnell would, in the common interest, drop for a while out of public life, and that the movement itself would go on as before. Again to quote his own



words, spoken, it is true, many years afterwards : " There ought to have been a death, but there would have been a resurrection. I do not say that the private question ought to have affected the public movement. What I say is, it did affect it, and, having affected it, Parnell was bound to go." What Mr. Gladstone, for all his acumen, does not seem to have foreseen is that his own action had made this impossible. Parnell's supremacy in Ireland had been won and maintained without reference to—nay, in defiance of—British favour and disfavour. Was he now to be disgraced at the bidding of an English politician ?

So he reasoned, and so thousands of his countrymen passionately felt. But there were others of them—in the ranks of the party and outside—to whom the issue presented itself in another fashion. To them it was " Parnell or Ireland—which ? " In 1890 Home Rule seemed nearly won. Was the Liberal alliance to be sacrificed, and with it all hopes of an early victory, in order that Parnell might retain the show as well as the substance of power ? Were the Catholic clergy who had done so much for the cause and who could still do so much to establish an Irish Government on a stable and orderly basis to be alienated ? Were the labours of so many years to be thrown away ?

It was a hard choice for many men, whether they ultimately decided in one sense or the other. Plans of accommodation were proposed ; negotiations took place. But in the end the Nationalist ranks, at Westminster and in Ireland, split into two ; and there arose an internecine conflict which not even the death of Parnell a year later assuaged, which lasted with ever-increasing bitterness for ten years, the consequences of which are not even now completely effaced.

It was under these unhappy auspices that the second Home Rule Bill passed through the House of Commons, only to be ignominiously rejected in another place. The proposed division of powers between the Imperial and the Irish Parliaments was approximately that of the Bill of '86, from which, however, the new measure differed in two important particulars. In the first place, instead of a specified proportion of Imperial revenue, Ireland was, for the first six years, to contribute the annual proceeds of her Customs and other specified taxes, calculated at that time to produce about £2,500,000. After six years, the method and amount of the Irish contribution was to be revised. In the second place, eighty Irish members were to sit at Westminster, but to vote only on Irish or Imperial, as distinct from purely British questions.

With the rejection of the Bill by the House of Lords, the Home Rule question was quietly shelved. Not long after—Lord Rosebery having in the interval replaced Mr. Gladstone in the Premiership—the weak Liberal Administration which had been returned to office, but hardly to power, in 1892, gave place once more to the Unionists, whose alternative Irish policy, opposed to the aspirations of the majority of Irishmen but fruitful in social and economic progress, will now be described, together with certain significant developments within Ireland itself.

## CHAPTER XV

### THE ALTERNATIVE POLICY

AMONG the characteristics of which Englishmen are most proud is that habit of mind which, distrustful of first principles and of the processes of logic, relies for the good conduct as well of public as of private affairs upon a consideration of the facts of any given question as they present themselves at any given moment. This habit of mind has doubtless on the whole worked well enough when applied to matters with which our rulers are familiarly acquainted in their ordinary lives. But when this condition is not satisfied, trouble is likely to ensue. "The magistrates," says Aristotle, "can neither determine causes with justice nor issue their orders with propriety unless they know the character of their fellow-citizens ; so that whenever this happens not to be the case, the State must of necessity be badly governed." When a question is one essentially of foreign relations, whether we have to deal with another country than our own or with another class or with the other sex, instinct, itself the child of habit, becomes an unreliable guide ; vital facts easily escape attention ; the experience gained in a restricted field is more likely than not to mislead when applied to one wholly dissimilar ; and the difficulties of those who are remote from us in race or religion or social standing or temperament commonly prove so perplexing and unintelligible that we defer consideration to that more convenient season which—it may well be—never arrives. Then, if circumstances are too strong for us and we are pushed against our will into tackling the uncongenial task, we are sure to act hurriedly, to provide against a host of imaginary perils and to neglect the real perils which, were we less flustered and bemused, would be seen staring us in the face. "Not to attempt to take one's fence before one reaches it" is a sound maxim. But it is not obviously wise to be blind to the existence of the fence until its thorns scratch us, and even then to ignore the farther ditch until our mouths are three parts full of ditch-water.

The very existence of an Irish Land question had been

steadily ignored alike by the aristocratic Parliament of Ireland and by that with which it had been amalgamated ; or if not wholly ignored, treated as though the social malady—of which the symptoms were the lawless protests of Steelboys and Whiteboys, Levellers and Rockites, Peep-o'-day boys and Defenders, of Captain Whitefoot and Captain Moonlight—were due solely to the innate wickedness of the Irish people or to the machinations of the Roman Catholic Church.

Tenant-right was long held to be landlord-wrong ; and during the first seventy years of the nineteenth century the two great political parties vied with one another in upholding a system for which no one now has a good word to say. At last, in 1881, the law not only recognised, but for the first time made effective, the principle that the occupier had a moral right to property in the farm and homestead, which in accordance with Irish, though not with English, custom his own hands or those of his predecessors had created. Secure from arbitrary eviction so long as a rent judicially ascertained was duly paid, the Irish tenant had become for the first time in all his history a free man, not a serf. Though the years which immediately followed were bad years with poor harvests, increased foreign competition and falling prices, the Irish farmer was now able to weather storms which at any previous time must have overwhelmed him. Finally, upon the sure foundation of the rents independently ascertained either directly by or in accordance with decisions of the Irish Land Commission, there was built up a superstructure of peasant ownership.

But for the Act of 1881 the later land legislation would have been impossible, for in the absence of judicial rents and fixed tenure there would have been no sound basis for land purchase. So much it seems right to say in vindication of that temporary condition of dual ownership which Gladstone established. Land purchase was not, as has been often suggested, alternative to radical change in the relations of landlord and tenant, but complementary.

After 1885 the true point of division between Liberals and Unionists was this : that the first-named (in common with Irish Nationalists) regarded political change as of primary, and economic as of secondary, importance ; whilst Unionists believed that with the removal of economic grievances the political demand would disappear. The agitation, controversies and Parliamentary debates of the past five years had thus—along with much incidental evil—brought this definite gain, that both British parties were now alive to the defects of



Irish government, and differed only in the nature of the remedy they would prescribe.

The constructive side, then, of the Unionist policy applied to Ireland between 1886 and 1906 may be summed up in the phrase "State aid to Industry," the word "industry" being of course taken to include the greatest Irish industry, that of agriculture. To use a current epigram, Unionists were determined to "kill Home Rule by kindness." The caresses were, no doubt, accompanied by not infrequent kicks, such as the perpetual Coercion Act passed in the Jubilee year of 1887. But from 1886 onwards, in marked contrast with the preceding eighty-five years, both British political parties—and still more certainly, so far as they understood them, the British people—made the redress of social grievances a principal object of executive and legislative policy.

So far as this policy aimed at undermining the demand for Irish self-government it has failed, as is to-day plain for everyone to see; in so far as it aimed towards establishing a new and better social order, it has succeeded perhaps beyond the expectations of its authors.

The first Irish business with which the new Unionist Administration found itself obliged to deal was that of remedying one of the minor—though at first unsuspected—defects of the Act of 1881. Between that date and the year 1887 a great fall had taken place in agricultural values, and as a necessary consequence the judicial rents fixed during the earlier sittings of the Land Commission (though much below the old rents) had proved to be more than the tenants could pay. Such was the gist of the Report of the Royal Commission, presided over by Lord Cowper; and acting upon this view the Government procured the passing of a Bill, authorising an immediate revision of these "first-term" rents, placing a stay on eviction, and admitting leaseholders (previously excluded) to the benefit of the Act of 1881. Unfortunately, however, this was not done until a renewed agitation known as the "Plan of Campaign" had reproduced some of the worst incidents of Land League days.

It will make for clearness if, disregarding strict chronological order, we complete here this brief survey of the dealings of Parliament with the agrarian question. As has been seen, State-aided purchase of the landlord's interest in tenanted land had already begun under the Bright clauses of the Act of 1870 and had been proceeding on a somewhat greater scale since the passing of the first Ashbourne Act of 1885. By this last-

named Act, as amended and extended in 1888, 1889, 1891 and 1896, certain sums were authorised to be advanced to owners who were willing to sell their tenanted holdings, the State recouping itself by means of an annual annuity payable by the occupier in lieu of rent.

The new policy proved successful within a limited field, but this partial success was itself necessarily the source of further trouble. As a result of the extremely easy terms upon which the Government was, in these years, able to borrow, the annuities payable by tenant purchasers were universally lower than even the revised judicial rents; and this although these payments were calculated to wipe out all the purchasers' obligations within a period of about fifty years. Thus a privileged class of occupiers was being established; for apart altogether from the fact that the total sum which could be advanced by the Land Commission was limited by statute, it was not by any means every tenant who could take advantage of the Purchase Acts. Many landlords, whether for financial or sentimental reasons, were unable or unwilling to sell; some refused to sell upon any terms whatever. The situation was manifestly provocative of fresh agitation. Landlords and tenants alike were dissatisfied, and patriotic Irishmen generally feared that their country might slip back again in the throes of a new Land war. On the courageous initiative of a young Galway landowner, Capt. Shawe Taylor, a conference representative of both landlords and tenants met in 1902, and to the amazement of the pessimists presented an unanimous report. Its conclusions were accepted almost without alteration by Mr. George Wyndham, then Chief Secretary, who modestly defined his functions as those of an "honest broker" and embodied them in the great Land Purchase Act of 1903.

The State now undertook to find whatever sums might be required to complete Land Purchase, which was henceforth to embrace not only individual holdings, but "estates" whether of tenanted or untenanted land. In addition, it held out special inducements for voluntary sale in the shape of a bonus upon the purchase-money payable to the vendor. This provision was especially welcome to owners of mortgaged estates, who had hitherto had little or no inducement to sell. Finally, in 1909, this Act was itself amended, the bonus system placed upon a more equitable basis and certain limited powers of compulsion granted to the Estates Commissioners and to the Congested Districts Board. It should be explained that with a view particularly to the abolition of what Wyndham described as

rural slums, a system known as indirect sale had been introduced by the Act of 1903. Where, as in a great part of the west of Ireland, the majority of holdings were uneconomic and the general social conditions deplorable, it would obviously have been of little use merely to substitute ownership for occupancy. To do so indeed would have been to stereotype unhealthy conditions. The Congested Districts Board, of whom more will be said presently, was therefore given a right of pre-emption, and was encouraged to hold estates for a time with a view to their improvement and to the enlargement of holdings through migration and the breaking-up of grass lands.

Up to March 31, 1920, approximately 400,000 agricultural holdings out of an estimated total of 470,000 had been sold or agreed to be sold under the various Acts. Even more would certainly have been achieved had not abnormal financial conditions both before and still more since the outbreak of the European War operated to discourage transactions.

In 1920 a Bill based upon the unanimous recommendations of a Sub-Committee of the Irish Convention was introduced into the House of Commons. The Bill contemplated what in fact, though not in terms, amounted to the compulsory transfer of all those lands (exclusive of demesnes) which still remained unsold. Pressure of time prevented its being carried into law during that session, and the completion of Land Purchase within its area is now being undertaken by the Government of the Free State.

To return to other incidents of the period from 1886 to 1906: it is obvious that with the agrarian question is closely bound up the question of transit, since merely to reduce the outgoings of the farmer in respect of one item of his expenditure, namely rent, will be of comparatively little service to him so long as he is unable to send the products of his farm to remunerative markets. Accordingly, the aid of the State was extended towards the building of light railways in districts where conditions were such as to preclude their construction by ordinary commercial enterprise. In this manner the marketing of foodstuffs, grain, potatoes and fish was immensely facilitated, with consequent advantage to the producer and to the consumer, whether in Ireland or in Great Britain.

The new policy of social reconstruction was also seen in the foundation in the year 1891 of the body known as the Congested Districts Board for Ireland. The following short extract from private letters written some years later by a President of the Board may give some idea of the conditions



which then obtained, which indeed even now obtain here and there, for all that has since been done, in the far-western counties :

“I got back from the congested districts last night. I had driven for three days on tracks of stone and bog with houses huddled on to every sappy knoll that swells out of the quagmire. In one room, 11 feet by 7 feet, was a family of five. In the other room of the hovel, a family of seven, a loom, a pig, a cow, a donkey, a bed, a spinning-wheel and a cradle. It is beyond belief. And every soul is a gentleman or a lady who entertains you with wit and pathos. . . . If I told one-tenth of what it is, I should be condemned as a sentimental idiot : there are no fences, no roads, and typhus fever most years.”

The Board was constituted on a novel basis. Though, in accordance with precedent, the Chief Secretary became ex-officio President and the Under-Secretary a member of the new department, the majority of its members were from the first not officials, but private individuals, chosen for their sympathy with the people and for their knowledge of the peculiar problems of the West of Ireland. Moreover, instead of having its expenditure subjected to minute inquisition by the Treasury, the Board obtained a yearly income (since very substantially increased), which it was authorised to expend at its own discretion upon the objects for which it had been established. It thus combined the authority of a Department of State with the freedom of action of an improving private owner of property. During the thirty years of its history it has done an immense amount of useful work. Some of its activities have no doubt been fairly subjected to criticism and, less fairly, to ridicule ; but no one who has watched, as has the writer, the creation of new industries such as the fisheries of Donegal and the lace-making of Connemara, no one who has seen, as he has, the thriving population now settled on the once-desolate grazing ranches of Roscommon ; no one who observes how holdings have been improved and decent dwelling-houses built, peat-bogs equitably apportioned, the age-long custom of *rundale* extinguished ; no one, in short, who knew the West of Ireland thirty years ago and knows it to-day can honestly forbear a tribute to the foresight of Mr. Arthur Balfour or to the sympathy, skill and wisdom of the officers of the Board.

A more revolutionary measure than any of those yet indicated was carried by the Conservative Administration in 1898. For generations the control of all local affairs in Ireland had



been maintained in the hands of the landed gentry. A small number of substantial farmers, shop-keepers and others had, it is true, been appointed to the Commission of Peace by Mr. John Morley, but otherwise local administration remained much what it had been in the eighteenth century. Even Boards of Guardians were not wholly elective, whilst all the larger matters of county business were in the exclusive control of the Grand Juries. Now, at a single stroke all was changed, and County and District Councils elected on a wide franchise upon the English model were established. It was a bold step. A few years earlier Lord Salisbury himself had denounced a similar proposal as more dangerous than Home Rule. The courage of his nephew Mr. Gerald Balfour has, however, since been abundantly justified. Corruption and jobbery, which many predicted as certain to obtain on a great scale, have been no more common than in other countries ; and if, as is unhappily the case, individuals whose experience and independent position would have rendered them most useful members of the new bodies have too often found it impossible to secure election, this is plainly due to the reaction of national controversy upon local administration. On the other hand, it is not clear that the new and costly system was more efficient than the old one. Since the establishment of the Free State several councils have been dissolved and replaced by paid Commissioners.

So far it will be observed that we have been dealing almost exclusively with the actions of the Government and Parliament at Westminster. But the most remarkable note of this period is to be sought in Ireland itself and to be found in the growing conviction of Irishmen that many of their problems would best be solved by their own efforts. From this conviction grew, with much else, two movements, one immediately fruitful, the other hitherto barren. During the Parliamentary recess of 1895-6 Sir Horace Plunkett, at that time a Unionist member of Parliament, publicly invited a number of his Irish Parliamentary colleagues, both Unionist and Nationalist, together with certain other persons, to take counsel together as to the method by which State aid could best be applied to the furtherance of Irish industry. Members of both Irish parties, Ulster captains of industry, the Grand Master of the Belfast Orangemen and an eminent member of the Society of Jesus met in friendly conclave ; and the result of their labour was seen three years later in the establishment of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. The constitution of

the department created a new and remarkable precedent in Irish government. In the case of all self-governing portions of the Empire each department of State is normally represented by a Minister responsible to the Parliament of the country. But in Ireland the plan had been to make the Chief Secretary for Ireland the sole Parliamentary representative of all Irish departments, for the proper conduct of which he was answerable, not to any Irish body but to the Parliament of the United Kingdom. On this occasion precedent so far prevailed that the Chief Secretary became President of the Department of Agriculture; but there was also created the office of Vice-President, to which Ministerial status was attached. Further, and much more significantly, control, limited indeed but real, over the policy and expenditure of the new department was given to two boards, respectively of agriculture and of technical instruction, which were themselves elected by the members of a council drawn largely from the newly created local authorities. In this somewhat cumbrous and roundabout manner Irish opinion was from the first brought to bear upon the administration of the department.

The second instance of co-operation between Irishmen to secure a particular reform arose out of the Report of the Royal Commission on Financial Relations between Great Britain and Ireland, issued in 1896. The subject of the inquiry is a tangled one and is still a matter of somewhat acute controversy. Perhaps it may be briefly and not unfairly stated as follows: At the time of the Legislative Union the taxpayer in Ireland was lightly taxed in comparison with the taxpayer in Great Britain, notwithstanding charges incurred in the war with France, for which the Irish Parliament had voluntarily raised large sums of money. Thus in the year 1785 the total taxation per head of the population amounted to no more than 9s. 2d. and the Irish National Debt to just over £1,500,000. By the Act of Union it was provided that Ireland should pay two-seventeenths of the joint expenditure of the United Kingdom, in addition to interest upon her pre-existing National Debt. Thereafter, the revenue collected being insufficient, notwithstanding greatly increased taxation, to meet these charges, the Irish debt grew with extraordinary rapidity to the date of the amalgamation of the Exchequers in 1817. From that time onwards differentiation in taxation as between the two islands ceased; and the increasing burden borne by the Irish taxpayer may be seen from the following figures, the increase being especially remarkable after 1853.

					s.	d.
1795	Taxation per head of Population	.	.	.	9	2
1805	"	"	"	.	16	4
1815	"	"	"	.	23	5
1825	"	"	"	.	17	3
1835	"	"	"	.	16	3
1845	"	"	"	.	17	4
1855	"	"	"	.	26	7
1865	"	"	"	.	35	10
1875	"	"	"	.	39	0
1885	"	"	"	.	45	0
1895	"	"	"	.	49	6

The Royal Commission which had been appointed after the defeat of Mr. Gladstone's Bill in 1893 was directed to inquire into the following questions :

1. Upon what principles of comparison and by the application of what specific standards the relative capacity of Great Britain and Ireland to bear taxation may be most equitably determined ?

2. What, so far as can be ascertained, is the true proportion under the principles and specific standards so determined between taxable capacity of Great Britain and Ireland ?

3. The history of the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland up to and after the Legislative Union, the charge for Irish purposes on the Imperial Exchequer during that period, and the amount of Irish taxation remaining available for contribution to Imperial expenditure ; also, the Imperial expenditure to which it is considered equitable that Ireland should contribute.

The unanimous conclusions of the Committee were :

1. That Great Britain and Ireland must for the purposes of this inquiry be considered as separate entities.

2. That the Act of Union imposed upon Ireland a burden which, as events showed, she was unable to bear.

3. That the increase of taxation laid upon Ireland between 1853 and 1860 was not justified by the then existing circumstances.

4. That identity of rates and taxation does not necessarily involve equality of burden.

5. That whilst the actual taxed revenue of Ireland is about one-eleventh of that of Great Britain, the relative taxable capacity of Ireland is very much smaller, and is not estimated by any of us as exceeding one-twentieth.

Applying the principle enunciated by the Commissioners to the then existing figures of Irish and Imperial revenue, it was computed at the time that since 1817 some £200,000,000 sterling had been exacted from Ireland in over-taxation. A



fierce agitation sprang up in which once more Irish Unionists took a leading part, but in this case, beating upon the rock of what Wyndham once described as the "grim Treasury," came to nothing.

It may be sufficient to say here that in 1919-20, the "actual tax revenue of Ireland" was one-twentieth of that of Great Britain; whilst, on the other hand, her "relative taxable capacity" as ascertained in accordance with the methods of the Royal Commission would appear to be about one-thirtieth.<sup>1</sup> As for the burthen borne by the individual Irish taxpayer, this has in the interval increased enormously. Whereas in 1895 taxation in Ireland amounted to 49s. 6d. per head, in 1919 it had reached £8 10s. 2d., and in 1920 nearly £12 per head of the population.

We can now turn to somewhat more cheerful matters. The same spirit of accord between Irishmen which inspired the two movements last described had begun to show itself in other fields. Already Sir Horace Plunkett and a small band of enthusiasts had been labouring to convince the Irish farmer that the prosperity which fixity of tenure and fair rents made possible could only be enjoyed to the full through co-operation with his fellows in the production and sale of his crops.

The growth of the Irish co-operative movement is in the economic domain the outstanding fact of the past twenty-five years. Sir Horace Plunkett has had the happy gift of attracting to himself a number of colleagues, each in his own way peculiarly fitted for the task he undertook. In Mr. Anderson, the Secretary of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, in Father Finlay, the Vice-President, in Mr. Russell ("Æ."), the Editor of the *Irish Homestead*, in Lord Monteagle, and many others who have laboured with him from the first, he has had such a band of helpers as is rarely to be found in any country. Under their wise and energetic guidance the movement has developed into one of immense financial importance and world-wide fame. There are now in Ireland no fewer than 1,015 societies with a membership of 152,594, whilst the total of the co-operative trade exceeds ten million sterling. Nor are the happiest results of the movement revealed by these figures. They are to be found in the fact that not even the storms of the past few years, which have destroyed so much else of promise, have been able to shake the edifice these men built. Throughout

<sup>1</sup> See on this point the careful calculations published under the title *The Present Taxable Capacity of Ireland*, by Professor Oldham, Vice-President of the Statistical Society of Ireland (Dublin, 1921). This question has now assumed a new importance in view of the Treaty of 1921.



all controversies over Home Rule, and in spite of all the sectarian passions aroused from time to time in Ulster and elsewhere, and even during that unhappy period when in many counties a state of war was judicially recognised, the Co-operative Societies have continued their quiet work. On the Committee of the I.A.O.S. are to be found Catholics and Protestants, Nationalists and Unionists, Imperialists and Sinn Féiners, and no differences of opinion have ever yet marred the harmony of their deliberations.

From top to bottom of the movement the same spirit has been shown. Upon the committees of the local societies Catholic priests, Presbyterian ministers, and clergymen of the Church of Ireland sit together in friendly conclave; and many among the younger generation of the landlord class have found here an opportunity of public service denied them in other fields through no fault of their own.

What the I.A.O.S. has done for the countryside, the Industrial Development Associations, which about this time began to spring up, have endeavoured to do for the towns. Perhaps because they lacked the stimulus of a great ideal, and were too greatly concerned with individual loss and gain to make a national appeal, these bodies have had a less striking success. But something they have certainly achieved, in the legal recognition of a distinctive Irish trade-mark, and much more in the quickened sense of the duty of Irishmen to give a voluntary preference, wherever possible, to the manufactures of their own country. The continuance of emigration since 1881 has been due, not so much to the pressure of poverty as to the fact that our towns could not offer steady and remunerative employment to the surplus population of the rural areas.

It must not be supposed, however, that the mind of Ireland was during this period exclusively occupied with material things. Far from it. It is to this time that we owe that revival of art and literature which has won—and merited—more than local fame. Here in Ireland during these years we enjoyed—after so much sordid if inevitable controversy—the miracle of the re-birth of our ancient art. As has so often happened in Ireland, it is to poetry, especially to lyrical poetry, that the first place must be given. Allingham and Alfred Perceval Graves, Lionel Johnson and William Larminie, Douglas Hyde and Dora Sigerson, Norah Hopper and Katharine Tynan, “Moirá O’Neill,” W. B. Yeats, “Æ.”—these are but some of the singers of that time. In the allied art of prose writing, Patrick Colum and Stephen Gwynn, Emily Lawless and Susan

Mitchell, Lady Gregory, Synge, James Stephens and Standish O'Grady, with E. C. Somerville and Martin Ross, the joint authors of that best of all Irish novels, *The Real Charlotte*, did work of lasting importance. The old Dublin Morgue was transformed by native enthusiasm and the generosity of an English lady into the Abbey Repertory Theatre in which plays, not merely imitative of alien modes, are presented. Among modern painters Dublin can count claim in Sir William Orpen, Belfast in Sir John Lavery. But more to our purpose, as more demonstrably connected with the new movement, is the name of Sir Hugh Lane, to whom Ireland owes the Municipal Gallery of Modern Paintings. Nor was that craftsmanship in which Irish people had once excelled forgotten. For half a century or more Ireland had been content to import the sorriest products of German and other foreign workshops. But now hand-weaving, printing and book-binding, metal work and glass, began once more to offer opportunity to Irish talent.

A more popular manifestation of the "Irish-Ireland" idea remains to be dealt with, namely, the rapid growth of the Gaelic League. Founded in 1893, the League by 1906 had established nearly a thousand branches scattered over all parts of the country. What was the governing idea of the language movement? Briefly this: that nationality consists, not in a particular political status, but in a community of ideas, sentiments and speech; that the language of a people is not a mere vehicle of commercial intercourse, but the most faithful deposit of national tradition, the nation's most solid fortress and surest protection. To many people, even in Ireland itself, this doctrine is foolishness and a stumbling-block. But even those who are most sceptical of the intrinsic value of Gaelic speech and literature will not, if they have eyes to see, deny that with the spread of the movement there came to Ireland a quickened sense of beauty, a livelier appreciation of intellectual things, a keener and wider outlook, more interest in social and economic progress. Here is what a detached foreign observer, M. L. Paul-Dubois, pupil and son-in-law of the great Taine, and himself the author of the best study yet written of contemporary Ireland, has to say of the social results of the Gaelic movement. That movement, he tells us, began by the "spiritual," but necessarily reacts upon the "temporal," for "the economic and social state of a people depend largely upon its psychological and moral state." "We need," thus he sums up the aim of the leaders of the movement, "not so many new laws, but rather that inner reformation which regenerates the individual, that

individual who, fitted to make his way everywhere else, seems at home to be without energy or ambition, seeking in everything the assistance of the State, as though in despair of seeing anything succeed in Ireland. Let us give him back his tongue and his traditions, bring him into touch with the national idea, with the idea of national duty: this will awake in his soul the sentiment of dignity, of patriotic pride; stimulate in him initiative, confidence, an ambition of working for the good of Ireland, the primary conditions of all prosperity." This, comments M. Paul-Dubois, is what one may expect, materially and practically, of the national rebirth.

Such, then, was the character of that Irish-Ireland movement which, whatever its occasional extravagances, altered in a few years the whole current of Irish life, and altered it, on the whole, for the better. This, to sum up, was the object common to so many different activities: that we Irish people should rely less upon the State and more upon individual effort; should develop our own resources; cease to be ashamed of our own ancient language, songs, games and dances; create an art and literature racy of the soil; be, in a word, not a faint and ineffectual copy of another people, but "Sinn Féin," that is "Ourselves." It was indeed inevitable, given the past history of the country, that the movement should, even from the first, have assumed in certain directions a semi-political character. But it is well to remember that the Gaelic League, which was for long its most vigorous organ of expression, did in fact hold itself, during by far the greater part of its career, scrupulously free from all political, as from all sectarian, entanglement, and so long as Dr. Hyde remained at its head enjoyed the enthusiastic support of men and women of all creeds and shades of politics, among them of that redoubtable champion of ultra-Protestantism, Dr. Kane of Belfast.

Nor is there any reason to think that the small group of men who about the year 1906 made the motto "Sinn Féin" peculiarly their own were at that time bent upon revolution. More or less consciously they modelled their movement upon that of Young Ireland as it was before the catastrophe of '46; and like the Young Irelanders of that time, precisely because they desired radically to transform the thought of Ireland, they were prepared to await the working out of the slow processes of education. Primarily at any rate, they looked, not to the barrack-yard or even to the hustings, but to the school. And in so far as they touched immediate political issues at all—while they revered Wolfe Tone as the ablest exponent



of Irish political aspiration in the past—the declared aim of Arthur Griffith and his friends was the restoration of the Constitution of 1782 (that Constitution which the British Parliament itself had in the following year declared to be “henceforth unquestionable”), and the means proposed for its attainment nothing more revolutionary than the adoption of the “Hungarian” policy of the voluntary withdrawal of Irish members from Westminster.

No doubt the survivors of the Irish Republican Brotherhood had other ends in view; but at this time, and for long after, they were without any considerable following. In the country districts, political Sinn Féin, whether constitutional or revolutionary, was almost unknown. Even in the towns it had little influence with the masses. In these years there was undoubtedly much anti-British feeling, for which the South African War was partly responsible, but it was in no sense anti-dynastic. When in 1900 Queen Victoria paid a visit to Ireland—one of the few during all her long reign—she was everywhere respectfully received. Not merely respect but enthusiasm greeted the arrival three years later of her son and of Queen Alexandra. It is true that upon each occasion Nationalists declined to take part in the official rejoicings, largely because of the difficulty of distinguishing in practice between the monarch as the constitutional head of the Executive established by the detested Act of Union and as King of Ireland. But King Edward was commonly believed to be kindly disposed towards his Irish subjects, and this, together with the gracious personality of his consort, was sufficient to secure for him such a welcome as few sovereigns have ever enjoyed in any part of their Dominions.

Let one who took part in the Royal procession through the streets of the Irish capital give his impression of the scene:

“For three miles to Trinity one roar of cheers and frenzy of handkerchiefs. Every woman with a baby in Dublin was there to jump him up and down at the King; every ragged urchin, every sleek shopkeeper, every rough, every battered old Irish woman with jewel eyes in wrinkled Russian-leather face. They do not say ‘God save the King’ as we do, anyhow. They lift their hands to Heaven to imprecate ‘God *bless* the King,’ as if adjuring the Deity to fulfil their most ardent desire and His most obvious duty. . . . The Queen kept pointing to this or that tatterdemalion, saying, ‘The poorer they are, the louder they cheer.’ We went on through the poorest parts by North Circular Road, and ever and always there was this same intense



emotion. It brought tears to the Queen's eyes and a lump to my throat."

Or take this picture of the Royal departure: "Yesterday we saw them off, and I agreed in sentiment with an old Irish-woman on the platform, who just sobbed, saying 'Come back—ah, ye will come back!' That was the cry that pierced through the blaring of the bands and the blessings and the cheers. 'Come back' they kept calling in every street. . . . And," he adds, "these are the people whom some call disloyal."

## CHAPTER XVI

### HOME RULE ONCE MORE

THE one outstanding achievement of the huge Liberal majority returned at the general election of 1906 was the grant of representative government to South Africa. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's action—it was in a very special sense his—was in the highest degree brave and magnanimous ; for but a short time had passed since the Boers had borne arms against the forces of the Crown. A few years later Botha and his men were to show that it was also wise, and to justify once more the saying of Edmund Burke that “Great Empires and little minds go ill together.” That the problems of South Africa and of Ireland are in all respects similar no one pretends. Nevertheless, the lesson has not been altogether without effect upon the Irish question.

For the moment, however, a solution of the question upon orthodox Home Rule lines could not be attempted. The Administration had been formed and the election fought primarily on the issue of Free Trade versus Tariff Reform ; and pledges had been given which were held to preclude the Government from any drastic amendment of the Act of Union. On the other hand, before the Unionists left office much had already been heard of a project of “Devolution.” The word is a somewhat misleading one ; since, properly speaking, it is applicable to any arrangement which implies the maintenance of a single Sovereign Parliament. Not merely the previous Home Rule Bills, but also the much more sweeping measures of autonomy granted in succession to each of the British Colonies, were, properly speaking, acts of devolution, since in every instance the over-riding powers of Westminster were in theory reserved.

This word, at any rate, was popularly chosen as descriptive of a particular scheme of which the most prominent advocates were Lord Dunraven and Sir Antony MacDonnell, the distinguished Irish civil servant whom Mr. Wyndham had appointed to the office of Under-Secretary “rather as a colleague than as a subordinate.” In Sir Antony's view, progress could best be

made by leaving in abeyance for a time all question of legislative powers, and by concentrating upon administrative decentralisation. The idea, when first mooted, had been received with favour by many Irishmen, Unionists and Nationalists alike. It had indeed much to recommend it ; since to lift Irish government even a little out of the rut into which it had fallen seemed to many well worth while. Had a definite proposal of this character been brought forward, as Sir Antony MacDonnell desired, whilst the Unionists were still in office, it might well have been gratefully accepted as marking at least a step on the right road. But, as Captain Gwynn truly says in his study of John Redmond's *Last Years*, " Liberals have never understood that Ireland will not take from them what it would take from the Tories. It will accept, as a palliative, from the party opposed to Home Rule, what it will not accept from those who have admitted the justice of the National demand."

Irishmen, on the other hand, could not understand why the Liberal Government of 1906 should deliberately refrain from doing that which Liberals ever since 1886 had professed their eagerness to do. The Councils Bill, then, introduced by Mr. Birrell, was foredoomed to failure, and was withdrawn before the second-reading stage had been reached.

The Parliament of 1906, however, was not entirely barren of legislation affecting Ireland. In 1908 almost the last trace of the Penal Laws was erased from the Statute Book by the Act amending the Accession oath required to be taken by the Sovereign. More important in some respects was the Act by which the long-vexed question of Catholic higher education was at length settled on a moderately satisfactory basis. In order that what was now done may be understood, it is necessary to summarise the past history of this question.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century Trinity College had been thrown open to Catholic students. But for long afterwards Fellowships and in general the office of teaching were reserved for members of the Established Church. The " atmosphere " of Trinity consequently remained—and still remains—markedly Protestant ; and it is hardly a matter for surprise that Catholics should have been unwilling to enter it in any large numbers. For an almost directly opposite reason—to wit, their purely secular character—the Queen's Colleges had fallen under the ecclesiastical ban. Thus it came about that during the whole of the nineteenth century Irish Catholics had no residential and teaching University to which they could resort. There existed, indeed, the institution founded with such

pious hopes by John Henry Newman, to the first students of which were delivered his noble addresses upon "The Idea of a University." But the Catholic University, as it was called, was without endowments; and its continuance, even on the smallest scale, was only made possible by the fact that its teachers were members of a Religious Order. Realising that this state of things constituted not merely a sentimental grievance but was gravely injurious to the whole social life of Ireland, Mr. Gladstone in 1873 had sought to add to Trinity College other colleges affiliated to the University of Dublin. But his proposals were in some respects unfortunately conceived and were rejected largely—it must be said—by Irish opposition. Thereafter, nothing more was attempted for many years, although statesmen of both parties, notably Mr. Arthur Balfour and Mr. Wyndham, were personally desirous of legislating. By the Act now carried by Mr. Birrell, a "National University" was established and suitably endowed; whilst at the same time a third University, designed more especially for the use of Presbyterians, was formed from the Queen's College at Belfast. The National University has both teaching and examining functions. But even now, Trinity alone among Irish Universities makes provision for residence within College walls, and so for that common life outside the lecture-room which is so great a part of the charm and usefulness of Oxford and Cambridge.

On the eve of the general election of January 1910 Mr. Asquith publicly declared that the limiting pledges previously given were now obsolete, and that, if again returned to office, his Government would proceed to establish an Irish Parliament. Thus the Home Rule question in its integrity became once more a living issue.

It was perhaps the gravest evil of the Legislative Union, in its actual operation, that Irish affairs could so seldom be dealt with upon their merits, but were incalculably complicated and confused by entanglement with English party politics. Had an Irish Convention, such as met in 1917 after most of the mischief had been done, been called together in 1910, and had it been given the powers of a Constituent Assembly, perhaps it might well have succeeded as the Irish Land Conference had succeeded in 1902. In any case it would assuredly have conducted its deliberations in a temper very different from that which the House of Commons was soon to display. There were many signs that with the settlement of the Land question the Unionists of the South, though still faithful to their Con-



servative tradition, were not indisposed to treat with their Nationalist fellow-countrymen. The majority of the inhabitants of North-east Ulster were still strongly averse from Home Rule; but even in that part of Ireland sectarian bitterness had much diminished of recent years. But for the unexpectedly vehement support which it obtained in Great Britain, North-east Ulster might not have been indisposed to accept the principle of Irish self-government, subject to proper security for its commercial and other vital interests. Nor, knowing as we do the spirit which then animated Irish Nationalists, is it likely that such security would have been refused.

Most unhappily, however, for both countries, the earlier stages of the controversy had to be fought out at Westminster. And never, perhaps, has there been a time when Westminster was less qualified to render a considered or an impartial judgment. In the course of the debate on Mr. Gladstone's University Bill of 1873, Benjamin Disraeli addressed the Liberal Ministers sitting opposite him as follows:

"You have now had four years of it. You have despoiled churches. You have threatened every endowment and corporation in the country. You have examined into everybody's affairs. You have criticised every profession and vexed every trade. No one is certain of his property, and no one knows what duties he may have to perform to-morrow."

These words, whether true or not of those to whom they were spoken, were undoubtedly true of the Liberal Administrations of 1906 and 1910. Their abortive Education Bill had alarmed and infuriated the Church of England; the famous Budget and still more famous speeches of Mr. Lloyd George (now become the dominating personality of the Cabinet) had seemed to threaten the very existence of the squires; the Parliament Act, in restricting the veto of the House of Lords, had meant to many the ruin of the Constitution itself.

It is not to be wondered at that men who were witnessing, as they thought, the ruin of all they had most cared for in England, should not be over-scrupulous of the means they employed to drive from power Ministers whom they denounced as traitors to King and country. To this fact, undoubtedly, we owe the astonishing spectacle of sincere adherents of the established order openly allying themselves with persons whose declared intention it was to resist by force of arms the decree of Parliament, even though the King's signature should be attached to it, and of the party whose watchword was "Law and Order" loudly applauding a former Law Officer of the

Crown who declared his intention to go to Ireland and break every law which existed.

It must not, however, be inferred from this that there was not also in Great Britain very real sympathy with the Ulster cause, or that this cause itself rested merely upon trumped-up agitation. The Government of the day and the Irish Nationalist party alike committed a very grave error of judgment in treating the early stages of the Ulster campaign as mere bombast. When late in the day they realised that the rifles of the Ulster Volunteers were not all wooden, the accommodation which might once have been easy had become impracticable. It would be of little service to anyone to tell in any detail the painful story of these years.

The Bill presented in 1912 differed in no important respect from its two predecessors. Rejected by the House of Lords, it was reintroduced in accordance with the Parliament Act in the two succeeding sessions, and was placed upon the Statute Book in September 1914. Meanwhile, in Ireland, the majority of the inhabitants of the north-eastern counties had signed, in imitation of their Puritan forefathers, a Solemn League and Covenant to resist the application of Home Rule to the province of Ulster, and throughout the North volunteers had been raised and drilled to uphold the Covenant in arms. The challenge was taken up throughout the rest of the country, and civil war seemed to many inevitable. By the summer of 1914 both parties had begun to import rifles and ammunition from abroad. Nevertheless, strange as it must appear, the bitterness of each was directed against the British Government rather than against the other. Just as in certain parts of Ulster drums borrowed from Hibernian bandsmen had sometimes been beaten on July 12, and Orange fifes tootled on August 15, so now local companies, Unionist and Nationalist, often used the same parade-ground or had as their instructor in military service the same ex-soldier. It is said that, on the very eve of the expected civil war, when arms for the Ulster Volunteers were being smuggled into Larne, motor-cars belonging to Nationalists were placed at the disposal of the organisers—a service later returned in kind. The rank and file of each party understood and liked their opponents better than the speeches of the chiefs would lead one to suppose. Nevertheless, the position was grave enough in all conscience when, in August 1914, the outbreak of the European War put an end for the time being to all other preoccupations.

Everyone knows that, so soon as war was seen to be in-

evitable, John Redmond pledged Ireland, without reservation or condition, to the support of the Western Allies; but few, even to-day, seem to realise how big a thing he did. That the man who had been denounced for years as the sworn enemy of England and her Empire should thus have given a new and nobler meaning to the phrase "England's difficulty—Ireland's opportunity" was striking enough, but is by no means the whole or the most important aspect of the matter. Properly to appreciate Redmond's attitude we must recall certain incidents then fresh in the popular memory. Many British officers had tacitly, and several openly, sympathised with Ulster's projected resistance to Home Rule, and had proved this sympathy but a few months before in what was known, not very accurately, as the "Curragh mutiny." Some of them had taken an active part in the organisation of the Ulster Volunteers; whilst forces of the Crown, both naval and military, were reported to have shown a particularly benevolent neutrality towards the Larne gun-runners. On the other hand, only ten days before Redmond spoke, British troops had done their best to disarm Nationalist Volunteers at Howth, and in the resulting affray had killed and wounded a number of civilians, both men and women. These things are recalled, not for their own sake, but because they have a direct bearing upon what followed. If English people had realised more clearly the difficulties which Redmond in his tardily acknowledged desire to help the Allied cause had to encounter in Ireland, they would, it is reasonable to assume, have been more willing than they were to accept his advice as to means by which the common object could best be attained. It had been so much the fashion to regard him as an autocrat—the "Dollar Dictator" of that same British Cabinet of which (ironically enough) he was by many Irishmen already declared to be the dupe—that the necessary limits of his authority and influence at home were forgotten, or at best imperfectly understood. Enough has perhaps been heard of the minor stupidities and pedantries of the earlier recruiting campaigns in Ireland.

On one point only, because the cardinal point of Redmond's recruiting policy, a word or two must be said. For over two years, but always without avail, he kept urging the authorities to recognise the Nationalist Volunteers and to organise them under proper military discipline as a Home Defence force. In this he had two objects: firstly, to awaken Irish national pride by the sight of an Irish army comparable in dignity with



the famous Volunteer force of 1778; secondly, to accustom young Irishmen to military discipline, so that through the habit of mind thus learnt they might be led more readily to see, as he did, that the "place to defend Ireland was on the fields of France." But though Mr. Asquith, speaking at a great recruiting meeting in Dublin, promised that the thing should be done, it never was done. There were, of course, reasons, sound enough in themselves, why it should not. The new armies were being formed. Recruits were presenting themselves in such numbers that there were not nearly enough rifles, uniforms or competent instructors for them. How, then, the military authorities quite fairly asked, could they be expected to pay any attention to bodies of men who would not immediately undertake to go wherever they were most wanted? But statesmen should surely have seen that much more was at stake than the harassed soldiers of the War Office realised. From representative persons one expects some knowledge of popular psychology. Equipment was a comparatively unimportant detail. If there had been the will to do it, some kind of arms, some sort of uniform, some instructors capable of giving elementary instruction could certainly have been found.

The one vital thing was that the Volunteers should feel that they were valued; as it was, they simply felt that they were snubbed. Worse than that, they felt that they were distrusted; and to distrust people is, everywhere and always, to make them untrustworthy.

That Redmond was right is shown conclusively by this: that by the summer of 1916, notwithstanding all discouragement, some 30,000 Nationalist Volunteers had joined the colours—approximately the same number as had been furnished by their rivals in Ulster. Who can now doubt that many more would have done likewise had they received the encouragement Redmond pleaded for, or even been permitted to join the Army in their own companies and with their own officers, as Ulster Volunteers were very properly permitted to do in the Ulster Division?

No one at this time foresaw how protracted the war was to be or how exhausting to all the combatants. Nor were the peculiar difficulties of Irish recruiting realised then or long after.

People had a hazy notion that Irishmen could not keep out of a fight, whatever its origin—a notion to which the military record of Ireland lent colour. There was a traditional sym-



pathy between France and Ireland: and yet the great Duke of Wellington had borne public testimony to the services of his Irish troops in the French wars; whilst General Sir William Butler has left it upon record that fully half of the infantry which fought in the Peninsular and Crimean campaigns were Irish. Lord Kitchener—who, because he had been born in Kerry, years before, imagined perhaps that he understood the Ireland of 1914—received Mr. Redmond's offers of assistance politely, but in a manner which plainly indicated that he did not expect them to materialise. "Get me," he replied on one occasion, "five thousand men, and I will say 'Thank you.' Get me ten thousand, and I will take off my hat to you." Yet by November 1915 Ireland had sent, not ten thousand, but eighty-one thousand recruits to the colours; and at the time of the Easter Rising of 1916 the Irish troops who had fought or were then fighting in France and Gallipoli numbered not less than 150,000, or to put it in another way, constituted by themselves an army nearly twice as large as that of Marlborough at Blenheim or of Napoleon at Waterloo. Of the Irish soldiers in France, in Gallipoli, in the Balkans and in Asia Minor one need say only that they showed themselves worthy of the race from which they sprang or of the regiments to which they belonged. Almost from the first hour and right on to the end every Irish Foot Regiment was represented on the Western Front. Here it will be enough to record their names, glorious names now abolished, all but two: Irish Guards, Royal Irish Regiment, Irish Rifles, Connaught Rangers, Leinster Regiment, and Inniskilling, Dublin, Munster and Royal Irish Fusiliers. In Gallipoli Irish soldiers of the 29th Division bore the brunt of the tragic landing on the V Beach. Between the old regulars and the newly raised 10th, 16th and 36th (Ulster) Divisions there was noble rivalry in gallant deeds.

For the moment the services of Irish soldiers seem either forgotten or remembered half in shame by their countrymen. But a time will surely come when all Irishmen will unite in praising those who suffered and died in order (as they believed) to succour the oppressed, to uphold the honour and establish the freedom of their own motherland. Nor will it be forgotten that every one of those men had voluntarily taken upon himself the burden of military service, and that in face of many difficulties peculiar to themselves. It was the least of their difficulties that Ireland is predominantly agricultural. In Ireland, as in Great Britain, fewer recruits presented themselves in rural

than in urban areas. The countryside in recent years has had no great "surplus of labour" such as is found in industrial centres; and the countryman is out of sight and hearing of recruiting posters and martial music. He is less easily reached, less quickly stirred, more reluctant to break with settled habits and associations.

But there was another and more formidable obstacle. The trumpets of Patriotism gave out an uncertain sound. To the Englishman the call "Your country needs you!" could at this time have but one meaning; to the Irishman two meanings, each flatly opposed to the other. Honest Nationalists, though not Nationalists only, were puzzled where their duty lay. Even in North-east Ulster—though no one denies that the Ulster Protestant is loyal to the Empire (odd as some of his manifestations of loyalty may have been)—it was found necessary to give assurances that those who were sent abroad should when they returned find that nothing of Ulster's claim had been lost or abated. And these assurances, unimpeachable in themselves, inevitably strengthened the conviction of many Nationalist Irishmen that, so long as Home Rule, though upon the Statute Book, was still inoperative, "their country needed them" most—at home.

This divided loyalty it was that first checked, then all but dried up, the stream of enlistment which pity for Belgium, old affection for France, new gratitude to England had set flowing, split the Volunteers, inspired the rising of 1916.

Of that rising more must be said in the next chapter, when we come to deal with the growth of Sinn Féin. Its most immediate result was to convince the Government that a settlement of the Irish question had become an Imperial necessity. This, indeed, was the precise ground upon which Mr. Lloyd George besought Nationalists and Unionists alike to accept certain proposals which he made to each separately on behalf of the Cabinet.

In order to make these proposals intelligible, it is unfortunately necessary to inquire somewhat more particularly—What is "Ulster"? During the reign of James I, as we have seen, there was escheated to the Crown the whole of that great territory over which the O'Neill and the O'Donnell (Earls respectively of Tir-owen and Tir-connaill) held over-lordship, a territory approximately identical with the geographical province of Ulster. But not all of this was "planted" with Scottish or other colonists.

The newcomers established themselves in great numbers

in the counties of the north-eastern seaboard, Derry, Antrim and Down ; less strongly towards the south in Armagh, Monaghan and Cavan ; to the west in Donegal—the old Tir-connaill—only in isolated groups, except where the “Lagan” district stretches a tongue of rich and level land towards the mountains. Midway between east and west lie the border counties of Fermanagh and Tyrone, hilly but accessible and of moderate fertility, where old and new, Catholic and Protestant, Gael and Gall, met and still meet on even terms.

Now, let it ever be borne in mind—for it is the true source of that over-long memory with which Irishmen are often reproached—that in no other country do the convulsions of past centuries still so directly affect the lives of living folk. Three hundred years have but graven deeper the lines traced in the seventeenth century. All over Ulster you will find to-day in the highlands and mountain glens the Catholic chapel, in the lowlands the meeting-house of the Presbyterians. The counties of Donegal and Cavan are more Catholic than ever ; and who says Catholic says—in Ulster, though not elsewhere—Nationalist. On the other hand, the stupendous growth of Belfast, attracting as it inevitably did new streams of workers from Great Britain, has, on the whole, emphasised the Protestant character of the north-east ; and again, he who in Ulster says Protestant says Unionist. Fermanagh and Tyrone are still the outposts of either camp. There Nationalist and Unionist dwell in almost equal numbers—and dwell for the most part (it should be added) on terms of good-fellowship, save perhaps during contested elections or the celebration of some old party victory.

Granted, then, that Home Rule was to be established—and granted, further, that some arrangement must be made to meet the views of those who were averse from the rule of a Dublin Parliament—these border counties were plainly the crux of the problem. Already before the war two distinct attempts had been made to solve it. Early in the session of 1914 the Government proposed that a plébiscite should be held in each Ulster county upon the question whether such county should or should not be excluded for a term of years from the operations of the Home Rule Act. But this proposal, though accepted reluctantly by the Irish Parliamentary party, was rejected by the Ulster Unionist members. Later in the same year a Conference, summoned at the express desire of his Majesty the King, had been convened at Buckingham Palace to devise if it were possible some other solution. Sir Edward



Carson and Mr. John Redmond, together with certain British Ministers, met in friendly conclave, but without result. The proceedings of the Conference have not been published; but it has generally been understood that an alternative proposal to delimit frontiers broke down over the rival claims to Tyrone and Fermanagh. In these counties the two populations were inextricably intermixed, and each was equally tenacious of its rights. Thus neither Parliamentary leader could give way to the other without sacrificing, not territory only, but a great number of human beings who trusted him. In spite of the teachings of orthodox economists, material interests are, to the credit of mankind, more susceptible of compromise than are points of honour.

“County option” and delimitation of frontiers having alike proved unacceptable to one or both of the contending parties, Mr. Lloyd George now, in the summer of 1916, put forward a new proposal. On the one hand, the Unionist demand for the exclusion of the whole province was for the time being conceded; on the other, the Home Rule Act was elsewhere to be brought into immediate operation; whilst the whole arrangement was to be revised after the war, preferably (it was suggested) by an Imperial Conference. In order to mark the transitory nature of the settlement, Mr. Lloyd George further proposed that, until such revision should have taken place, Ireland should continue to send her full quota of representatives to the Parliament of Westminster. This last-named proposal, precisely because it was in itself indefensible as a part of any permanent arrangement, was the best possible guarantee of more thoroughgoing reform in the early future. It was upon this understanding that the Nationalists of Ulster, meeting at a Convention in Belfast, accepted the proposals, though with manifest reluctance. Similar action had been taken by the Ulster Unionists; and thus an agreement, unsatisfactory in many respects, but at least offering an immediate appeasement, seemed at last to have been reached. But the Government, for reasons which have never been very clearly explained, suddenly refused to ratify the bargain as far as it concerned the continuance of the full Irish representation during the war period.

The consequences of this refusal were disastrous. In recommending his colleagues to accept, and to urge their constituents to accept, Mr. Lloyd George's offer, Mr. Redmond had told them that in his view the alternative to speedy peace was anarchy. Alas! too well has his prophecy been justified.



His influence, and with it the influence of all constitutional Nationalists, was fatally shaken. Only the sight of Home Rule in actual operation could have effaced the resentment which the Parliamentary party had brought upon themselves in entertaining the hated principle of "Partition." Now they were charged with having lowered the flag and got nothing by the surrender; with having sold the horse and brought back from the fair not so much as Moses Primrose's gross of copper-rimmed spectacles.

From this time on the tide of Irish opinion began visibly to ebb away from the constitutional Nationalists. Whereas at the general election Sinn Féin had not put forward a single candidate, it now began to contest and to win by-election after by-election. Two such incidents may be noted in passing. In Roscommon Count Plunkett, two of whose sons had been shot after the Rising, was elected, and in East Clare de Valera, who had himself been "out in '16." A tragic significance attached to the last-named contest; for the vacancy had arisen through the death in the battle of Messines of Major William Redmond, the Irish leader's only brother. An advanced Nationalist, as that term had hitherto been understood, several times imprisoned for his political opinions, "Willie" Redmond, though much over military age, had been among the first to volunteer for service. It was a fitting symbol of the fellowship which embraced all Irishmen, if not at home at least in France, that this Catholic Munsterman, who had stood for everything that the north-east most vehemently denounced, should be carried to the field-hospital by stretcher-bearers of the Ulster Division. For some time before he had felt that the cause to which he had given such long and honourable service could not succeed until, as he said to one of his colleagues during his last leave from the front, new men arose to take the places of the old. It would be untrue to say that he sought death; but, in the Gaelic phrase, he "found" it, not unwillingly. A very gallant soldier and great gentleman was dead; and one of the "new men" filled his place.

And, indeed, it was a "new Ireland" which had now risen from the ashes of the insurrection. It was a New Ireland because it was the Ireland of a new generation. To the minds of Irishmen born in the sixties and early seventies the progress since made was ever present. Such men in their lifetimes had seen marvellous things. They had seen the Irish peasant raised from servitude, political as well as economic, to freedom; they had seen the attitude of the British democracy change

towards Home Rule, from hostility to questioning, and from questioning to assent. But to the younger generation what had been gained seemed little in comparison with what, in their view, still remained to be won; and, as is the way of the young, they were impatient of delay and contemptuous of compromise. They exaggerated the defects and slighted the virtues of the Home Rule Act; they thought it intolerable that Ulster should even for a little while block the way to integral autonomy; they scorned to consider the opinions or the prejudices of weaker brethren, whether in Ireland or in Great Britain.

The divergence between the older and younger generations of Irish Nationalists was increased by the fact that almost every member of the Parliamentary party was on the wrong side of forty. The average age of the leaders was naturally much greater. In 1916 John Redmond, John Dillon and T. P. O'Connor had each of them served thirty-five years and upwards as members of the House of Commons. Devlin, the youngest of Redmond's lieutenants, was already beyond middle age. And Tom Kettle, who, had he remained in active political life, might well have been an interpreter of the younger generation, had some years before exchanged his Parliamentary seat for a professorial chair, which in turn he had quitted to fill, like William Redmond, a soldier's grave in France.

Before, however, the Irish Parliamentary party of the House of Commons disappeared from the scene, as it was fated soon to do, one more effort was made to arrive at a settlement of the Irish question. The way now chosen was a good way—one which, had it been taken some years before, might well have led to a happy ending.

In the summer of 1917 a Convention composed of Irishmen of all classes and creeds and of every shade of political opinion, save one, met, in Trinity College, over against the old Parliament House of Ireland. It was an assembly at least as remarkable for weight, dignity, statesmanship and eloquence as any which that old House across the way had ever held; whilst it far surpassed the pre-Union Parliament in variety and in representative character. Protestant and Catholic bishops sat side by side on the same bench. Manufacturers of Belfast, peasant-farmers, labour leaders of North and South, members of both Houses of Parliament, elected representatives of municipalities and of county councils, took part in its deliberations. At the head of the "Southern Unionists"—as the party of the old land-owning class had come to be called in contra-

distinction from their former allies now somewhat estranged, the Unionists of Ulster—was Lord Midleton, an ex-Cabinet Minister. Chief of the Nationalists was of course John Redmond, though he, alas ! could no longer speak for an individual Nationalist Ireland. For the exception above noted was of course Sinn Féin, now grown powerful—yet not so powerful that it could have stood, or would, it is probable, even have desired to stand, against an unanimous decision of the Convention.

The mandate of the Convention was limited to the finding of a solution within the Empire ; and this necessarily involved the formal abstention of those who held that the independent Irish Republic proclaimed on Easter Monday 1916 still claimed their allegiance. Nevertheless, there is good reason to believe that even the leaders of Sinn Féin would have been well content to see a system of Dominion Home Rule established ; as it is quite certain that the mass of the people then neither expected nor desired anything more revolutionary.

It would be of little service now to recall in detail the story of the Convention. The greatest, though not the only, obstacle to substantial agreement was, as always, the attitude of Ulster, and it cannot be said that the Ulster representatives, who (it must be remembered) were, unlike other members of the Convention, pledged to take binding action only after consultation with an outside body (the Ulster Unionist Council in Belfast), made any great effort either to express their particular fears and objections or to explain how they might be removed.

The debates of the Convention were largely concerned with finance, since all sections were now agreed that a greater measure of financial and fiscal power and responsibility than had been given by the Home Rule Act would be essential to the smooth working, as well as to the dignity, of an Irish Parliament. On this point Mr. Redmond and a number of his followers, together with Labour men and representatives of local authorities, both urban and rural, found themselves in almost complete accord with the party of Lord Midleton.

Innumerable other matters were discussed and decided—completion of Land Purchase, Housing, Transit and so forth—by the Convention and its sub-committees, and throughout all its sittings, which lasted well on into 1918, the greatest good-fellowship was shown between men who all their lives had regarded one another as bitter enemies.

When it became plain that no further progress could be expected from prolongation of conferences—the Government



pressing also for the presentation of the Report—the Convention decided to make its final decision. The nineteen representatives of Ulster Unionism renewed their demand for partition. Two members presented a separate Report. The remaining sixty-seven, comprising Southern Unionists, Labour representatives and Nationalists, recommended the immediate establishment of an Executive responsible to an Irish Parliament of two Houses, with full control of internal legislation, administration and direct taxation, a contribution to the cost of Imperial defence and continued representation at Westminster.

The majority were willing (for the sake of those who regarded this as a symbol of continued union with Great Britain) that customs and excise should continue to be fixed by the Imperial Parliament, but the proceeds were to be paid into the Irish Exchequer.

How far the “substantial agreement” which the Prime Minister had laid down as a condition precedent to legislation had been achieved by what had been done is a question upon which many different opinions might be advanced. In any case, nothing came of it. For on the very day (April 12, 1918) on which Sir Horace Plunkett, the Chairman of the Convention, placed the Report in the hands of the Government, the Prime Minister announced his intention of applying conscription to Ireland. Thereupon a storm broke in which all hope of settlement was lost.

One may well despair of conveying to non-Irish readers any idea of the fury which this announcement aroused in Ireland. But two things, neither of which admit of denial, must be said. In the first place, cowardice had no part in it. By this time the end of the war was near at hand, and it is in the highest degree improbable that a single conscript could ever have been trained in time to take part even in the last battles. But the boys, whose own elder brothers had in previous years flocked as Volunteers into the Army, were prepared to die fighting in Ireland rather than be taken into the Army against their will. It is certain that the attempt to take them, had it been made, would have resulted in bloodshed of a particularly horrible kind in every parish from one end of the country to the other.

In the second place, the determination to resist was not confined to Sinn Féiners or to those who from the first had been against the war. John Redmond was now dead (March 6, 1918); but colleagues of his who had approved of his attitude in 1914 and were loyal to his teaching were



not less determined than the most ardent of the new Republicans. Briefly stated, Irishmen denied the right of any but their own elected Legislature to enforce such a thing as compulsory military service. It mattered little, except for the purposes of dialectic, that the control of all the armed forces of the Crown was, by the Home Rule Act itself, reserved to Westminster; for in 1912, when the Act was framed, no one in either island, with the exception of a small and derided group, dreamt that the time-honoured system of voluntary enlistment would in their lifetime be abandoned. And in Great Britain itself conscription had not been applied, even in its first and mildest form, until something approaching to general popular assent had been obtained.

In the upshot, of course, it was not applied to Ireland, being abandoned in favour of a belated attempt to stimulate recruiting through the agency of an Irish Recruiting Committee largely staffed by Irish ex-soldiers.

Far from obtaining additional soldiers for the front, the mere threat of conscription provoked such a menacing attitude in Nationalist Ireland that the British garrison had to be largely increased.

One further consequence ensued. Sinn Féin alone of the existing political parties had from the first been opposed to Ireland's intervention in the war; and Sinn Féin had now been most prominent, and seemed most powerful, in resisting conscription. At the general election which in November 1918 followed upon the Armistice only one Nationalist member won a seat south of the Boyne, Captain W. A. Redmond, D.S.O., being elected by his father's old constituents in Waterford City. A handful of Northern Nationalists were re-elected. The Northern Unionists held their strongholds in the north-east. Everywhere else Sinn Féin swept the country.

## CHAPTER XVII

### SINN FÉIN

WE have seen how, at the time of bitterness and disillusionment which followed the Parnell split, Irishmen began to turn their eyes from Westminster and to inquire, more earnestly than before, what they could do to make Ireland, not in outward semblance only, a nation once again. Politics for the moment were out of favour. The new school of poets prided itself upon discarding the patriotic themes and rhetorical modes of expression that the Young Ireland writers had loved. Playwrights and novelists either ignored politics or made the politician the target for satire. The Gaelic League, no less than the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, avowed itself a non-political body and welcomed into its fold Unionists as well as Nationalists. Yet so difficult is it to confine national activities within water-tight compartments that even Sir Horace Plunkett—whose desire to steer the co-operative movement clear of party entanglements no one now doubts—found (as he has confessed) that “out of politics he could not keep.” And if the task of directing the farmer’s business drew the Chairman of the I.A.O.S. unwillingly to the House of Commons, much more inevitably had the work of Dr. Douglas Hyde and his disciples its political reactions.

The Irish language is itself a reminder of the separate origins of the British and Irish peoples. It is the expression of thoughts, habits and instincts not shared by the English-speaking races. It enshrines traditions foreign to the genius of the British Empire. Thus, while at Westminster the Irish members were still seeking, as Butt had sought, to reconcile Irish aspirations with the continuance of the British connection, in Ireland itself a non-political movement was preparing the ground for a new political departure, destined not to modify but wholly to abolish the legislative Union. In schools and colleges a generation was growing up impatient of compromise. Gradually but surely the political side of the Irish-Ireland movement began to assert itself: and though the Gaelic

League under Dr. Hyde's guidance remained officially aloof, many of its adherents were attracted to a new organisation which presently became known as that of Sinn Féin.

It would, however, be wrong to suppose that at the outset Sinn Féin was either republican in aim or revolutionary in method. The policy advocated by Mr. Arthur Griffith, who is generally recognised as its founder and who was its chief, as he was certainly its ablest, advocate, contemplated the withdrawal of all Irish representatives from London, not for the purpose of establishing a Republic, but in order to restore the violated Constitution of 1782. In other words, Mr. Griffith desired to revert to the pre-Home Rule demand for "simple repeal" of the Union, so that the country might once more be governed under a Dual Monarchy by the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland. If even from the first Sinn Féin demanded not a subordinate but a sovereign Parliament, it was as yet far from challenging the authority of the Crown itself, since it implicitly recognised the reigning monarch as King of Ireland.

In 1906 the first of the Sinn Féin Clubs was formed in Belfast, where had been founded a little more than a hundred years before the Society of United Irishmen. Thence the movement spread slowly, gathering to itself little knots of "intellectuals" of the middle class—university students, civil service clerks, young priests, schoolmasters—but as yet hardly known even by name to the general body of Irishmen. It is to be noted that at neither of the general elections of 1910 did Sinn Féin put forward a single candidate.

In order to understand the history of the years 1910–16 one must always bear in mind the three groups into which Nationalists were then divided. On the right wing was the Parliamentary party, backed by an all but unanimous electorate and now more than ever confident of the speedy realisation of Gladstonian Home Rule; in the centre were the Sinn Féin Clubs, with their academic policy of a Parliamentary boycott, having few adherents even in the towns and quite ignored by the countryside; on the left the scanty remnants of the Irish Republican Brotherhood together with some few unattached believers in the Republican theory of government.

That as late as 1912 neither the centre nor the left wing felt itself strong enough to oppose the official policy is shown, among other things, by the speech that Patrick Pearse, who four years later was to lead the Easter Rising, delivered in Dublin on the eve of the introduction of the third Home Rule Bill.

"There are as many men here," he is reported to have declared, "as would destroy the British Empire if they were united and did their utmost. We have no wish to destroy the British; we only want our freedom. . . . There are two sections of us—one that would be content to remain under the British Government in their own land, another that never paid, and never will pay, homage to the King of England. I am of the latter, and everyone knows it. But I should think myself a traitor to my country if I did not answer the summons to this gathering; for it is clear to me that the Bill which we support to-day will be for the good of Ireland, and that we shall be stronger with it than without it. . . . Let us unite and win a good Act from the British; I think it can be done. But if we are tricked this time, there is a party in Ireland, and I am one of them, that will advise the Gael to have no counsel or dealings with the Gall for ever again, but to answer them with the strong hand and the sword's edge. Let the foreigners understand that if we are cheated once more there will be red war in Ireland."

The Bill, when introduced, undoubtedly disappointed Pearse's hopes, but hardly the expectations of most of his countrymen. Mr. Robert Mitchell Henry, in a recently published study of the *Evolution of Sinn Féin*, puts the position very well.

"There is no doubt," he writes, "that had the Home Rule Act been passed and put into operation, the advocates of a stronger policy would have been overborne by the men of moderate opinions. That is not to say that Home Rule would have been accepted by all coming generations as a satisfactory solution of the Irish situation; but it would have meant an immediate settling-down of the country to a solution of many internal problems and the return to Ireland of something like the normal conditions of a civilised country." It was not to be; for North-east Ulster blocked the way. We know how the arming of Ulster had affected the fortunes of political parties at Westminster; we must now study more closely its influence upon Irish opinion.

Since the collapse of the Fenian Rising of 1867, Ireland had tended more and more to discard the thought of physical force and to rely for the redress of her grievances rather upon methods, which if not always orderly or peaceful, were in the main constitutional. The revolutionary reforms effected in Land Tenure since 1870—reforms almost altogether attributable in their later stages to Parliamentary action—had convinced her of the uses of Parliamentarianism, and almost



caused her to forget that even the powers of a theoretically sovereign Legislature are subject to practical limitations. In 1912 intransigence was at its lowest point in the long history of Irish Nationalism. Before the great European War made armed strife seem once more a normal incident in human affairs, it was hard to believe that among civilised peoples bullets would ever again take the place of ballot-boxes or arbitration in the settlement of disputes, national or international. Hence it was that in Ireland as well as in Great Britain threats of armed resistance to Home Rule were long regarded with amused indifference. Only very slowly did it become clear that Ulster speeches were not all bluff, nor Ulster guns all made of wood. And even then ordinary people found it hard to believe that a Government, based upon the undiminished support of the House of Commons, would not find peaceable means of preventing contingent from passing into actual rebellion.

Nevertheless, the idea of physical force had once more taken possession of the popular mind. The Ulster Volunteers were being trained for military operations; and an Ulster Provisional Government proclaimed itself ready to seize and administer the province until such time as the Imperial Parliament should return to the path of sanity. Such an example could not but affect the rest of the country. If one set of Irishmen were to be permitted to resist Home Rule by the use of arms, might not others legitimately defend it? And might not others again use like means to win something they thought better than Home Rule?

"It is foolish of an Orangeman," wrote Pearse in 1913, "to believe that his personal liberty is threatened by Home Rule; but, granting that he believes it, it is not only in the highest degree common sense but his clear duty to arm in defence of his threatened liberty. Personally, I think that the Orangeman with a rifle is a much less ridiculous figure than a Nationalist without a rifle; and the Orangeman who can fire a gun will certainly count for more in the end than the Nationalist who can do nothing cleverer than make a pun."

Therefore, far from resenting the action of Ulster, the more extreme Nationalists naturally and logically acclaimed it. After the Larne gun-running, one of the Sinn Féin weekly newspapers published an article headed "The New Liberator," in which Sir Edward Carson was applauded for having "driven not a coach-and-four, but a score of armed motor-cars through a Royal Proclamation," and for having, "without a shot

fired, taken his province outside the sphere of British government."

At the commencement, as again at a later stage of the Volunteer movement which sprang up in answer to the arming of North-east Ulster, men whose general attitude was hostile to constitutional nationalism held the control, and Redmond saw the danger that the extremists among them might use the new force for other ends than his. He therefore demanded and obtained the nomination of a majority of the central Volunteer Committee; and for a time all went smoothly. But the outbreak of the European War and Redmond's war policy presently precipitated a more serious crisis. In the course of his famous speech of August 4, 1914, after referring to the attitude of Ireland towards other great wars in which the Empire had been engaged, and after recalling the story of the Irish Volunteers of the eighteenth century, Redmond used these words:

"To-day there are in Ireland two large bodies of volunteers, one sprung into existence in the North and another in the South. I say to the Government that they may to-morrow withdraw every one of their troops from Ireland. Ireland will be defended by her armed sons from invasion, and for that purpose the armed Catholics of the South will be only too glad to join arms with the armed Protestant Ulstermen."

The declaration was fiercely resented as an attempt to pledge the Volunteers without their foreknowledge or consent. But this was not all. The day after the Royal Assent had been given to the Home Rule Act, Redmond crossed to Ireland; and, addressing a muster of his own Wicklow Volunteers, spoke as follows:

"The duty of the manhood of Ireland is twofold. Its duty is at all costs to defend the shores of Ireland from foreign invasion. It has a duty other than that, of taking care that Irish valour proves itself on the field of war as it has always proved itself in the past. The interests of Ireland—of the whole of Ireland—are at stake in this war. This war is undertaken in defence of the highest principles of religion and morality and right, and it would be a disgrace for ever to our country, a reproach to her manhood, and a denial of the lessons of her history, if young Irishmen confined their efforts to remaining at home to defend the shores of Ireland from an unlikely invasion, or should shrink from the duty of proving on the field of battle that gallantry and courage which have distinguished their race all through its history."

Thereupon thirty of the original members of the Volunteer

Committee, declaring Redmond's policy to be "fundamentally at variance with the accepted aims and objects" of the organisation, proceeded to expel his nominees and to "repudiate the claim of any man to offer up the blood and lives of the sons of Irishmen and women to the service of the British Empire when no National Government which could speak for the people of Ireland is allowed to exist."

It is significant of the state of opinion which then existed even in the ranks of the younger generation that, in the face of this repudiation, of 150,000 Volunteers at least four-fifths remained loyal to Redmond and his policy. These were hereafter known as National Volunteers; whilst the dissident minority retained their former title of Irish Volunteers.

From this moment events moved rapidly. Of the National Volunteers not fewer than 30,000 had (as already noted) joined the Army by the spring of 1916. But, as the war dragged on and the butchery and muddled strategy of those years became ever more evident to those at home, the National Volunteers, denied that recognition which Redmond desired, lost heart. The dissident minority, on the contrary, grew steadily in numbers and influence. These had now once more an organisation of their own—small indeed but active, single-minded, fanatical; moreover, they could now count as allies a body of Irishmen who hitherto had taken little direct part in political affairs. The many reforms of the past fifty years had hardly touched the unskilled workman. The farmer had been secured in his holding; the agricultural labourer had been rehoused; the skilled artisan had won through his trade union a higher rate of wage. But in the towns—and notably in the capital city of Dublin—the majority of the inhabitants existed miserably upon the scanty and uncertain rewards of casual labour. The housing of the unskilled workman is even now a disgrace to any civilised community. At this hour one in every four citizens of Dublin is born, lives and dies within the confines of a single-roomed tenement.

The strike organised in 1911 by the Transport and General Workers' Union had done something to raise the rate of wage of these people; but it had also injured very gravely the trade of Dublin, and diminished the already small volume of regular employment. Thus it was that the misery of the slums, breeding—as such misery much needs breed—hatred of the established order, brought the force of popular discontent to the aid of the Republican idealists.

As the Republicans had captured the Volunteer Committee,



so they now dominated the Sinn Féin clubs ; and of the alliance between revolutionary labour and republican Sinn Féin was born the Insurrection of 1916. Labour already possessed a leader in James Connolly ; Sinn Féin was soon to find one as able and determined in Patrick Pearse, a Gaelic writer and a schoolmaster of genius. Unlike in other ways, these two were at one in their passionate hatred of social injustice and not less passionate hatred of the British connection.

"We have come," Pearse declared on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Wolfe Tone's grave, "to the holiest place in Ireland ; holier to us even than the place where Patrick sleeps in Down. Patrick brought us life, but this man died for us. To unite all Ireland and to break all connection with England was Tone's object—to that . . . we declare our adhesion now ; pledging ourselves as Tone pledged himself—and let us not pledge ourselves unless we mean to keep our pledge—pledging ourselves to follow in the footsteps of Tone, never to rest until his work be accomplished ; deeming it to be the proudest of all privileges to fight for freedom, to fight not in despondency but in great joy, hoping for victory in our day, but fighting on whether victory seems far or near, never lowering our ideal, never bartering one jot or tittle of our birthright, holding fast to the memory and inspiration of Tone, and counting ourselves base as long as we endure the vile thing against which he testified with his blood."

But Tone, though primarily a republican in the old classical sense of the word, had come to despair of the support of his own class ; and Pearse at a later date quotes with approval Tone's saying : "If the men of property will not support us, they must fall ; we can support ourselves by the aid of that numerous and respectable class, the men of no property." "It is in fact true," Pearse himself wrote on the eve of the Rising of 1916, "that the repositories of the Irish tradition, as well the spiritual tradition of nationality as the kindred tradition of stubborn physical resistance to England, have been the great, faithful, splendid common people, that dumb, multitudinous throng, which sorrowed through the penal night, which bled in '98, which starved in the famine, and which is here still—what is left of it—unbought and unterrified. Let no man be mistaken as to who will be lord in Ireland when Ireland is free. The people will be lord and master."

Here we have the second point of contact between the two makers of the Insurrection—Pearse and Connolly. For what Tone lacked of democratic fervour, Fintan Lalor, whom Pearse



and Connolly each accepted as a master, had supplied. "The principle I stood and mean to stand upon," he had written in 1848, "is this—that the entire ownership of Ireland, moral and material, up to the sun and down to the centre, is vested of right in the people of Ireland; that they, and none but they, are the land-owners and law-makers of this island; that all laws are null and void not made by them, and all titles of land invalid not conferred and confirmed by them; and that this full right of ownership may and ought to be asserted and enforced by every and all means which God has put in the power of man."

Upon this doctrine Connolly, like Lalor a man of the people, based his economic teachings. But Lalor had been as emphatic as Tone in advocating the establishment of a republic as the only solution of the national question. "Not the Repeal of the Union, then, but the conquest . . . not to resume or restore the old constitution, but to found a new nation and raise up a free people, and strong as well as free and secure as well as strong, based on a peasantry rooted like rocks in the soil of the land—this is my object. . . . Not the Constitution Wolfe Tone died to abolish, but the Constitution Wolfe Tone died to obtain—Independence."

## CHAPTER XVIII

1916-1922

THUS in the spring of 1916 there were in existence all the ingredients of revolution—social discontent, an armed and organised force, a policy and leaders. On the morning of Easter Monday small bodies of men seized the General Post Office and other buildings in Dublin, hoisted the tri-colour of orange, white and green—a flag designed by the Young Irelanders in 1848 to symbolise the union of North and South “by the white bond of common brotherhood”—and proclaimed the establishment of the Irish Republic. Fierce street-fighting ensued, which ended upon the following Saturday with the surrender of the surviving insurgents; but not before many lives had been lost on both sides or before a great part of the city had been reduced to smouldering ruins.

Why was this particular moment chosen for a rising? and what did the leaders hope to achieve? Those who could have given the surest answers are dead. They would seem to have relied to some extent upon promises of German aid; for on the eve of the insurrection Sir Roger Casement, who had for many months been in touch with Berlin, landed from a German submarine on the Kerry coast, only to be immediately captured by the forces of the Crown. It is possible that Casement, notwithstanding his recent failure to win over Irish prisoners of war, may have convinced himself that a general insurrection was imminent, and that he may also have caused some people in Ireland to expect external aid such as General Hoche had sought to bring to the United Irishmen. But this consideration appears to have had little influence on the decision. Pearse, for one, had no hope of immediate victory; nor, perhaps, had many of those who rose out with him. He had come to believe that there was laid upon him the duty of offering his life for the regeneration of his country. To him the compromises inseparable from Parliamentary action had become increasingly abhorrent. Ireland was, he thought, in danger of becoming absorbed in material things. All previous generations of

Irishmen had testified by sacrifice to the National faith ; ours alone was content not to give, but to receive. He was jealous—not ignobly—of the remembered dead. Ireland had need of spiritual renewal ; and this could come only through sacrifice.

Whilst the Insurrection lasted, it seemed as though Pearse had failed of his purpose. In France Irish soldiers, having heard what was happening at home, begged to be allowed to help in quelling the rebellion. In Dublin the mob itself befriended the British troops. In the rest of Ireland National Volunteers turned out to guard railway lines and generally to assist the Royal Irish Constabulary. The Home Rule Act was now upon the Statute Book, and by many Nationalists the insurrection was regarded as an act of treason against Ireland herself. Irish soldiers, some of them wounded in France, had been among the first victims of the insurgents' rifles. For the first time in Anglo-Irish history Irish rebels were repudiated by the mass of their fellow-countrymen.

But Pearse had reckoned, not vainly, upon the co-operation of the British Government. To Englishmen engaged as they were at that moment upon a life-and-death struggle with Germany, the rebellion could not but appear an act of unpardonable treachery, for which no punishment could be too severe. But anger, however just, is an ill guide for statesmanship ; and the Executive would have done well to remember the example set eighteen months before by General Botha. After a rebellion, more dangerous, more largely supported and less excusable (since South Africa already enjoyed the substance, not the promise merely, of autonomy), Botha had permitted only one of the insurgents to be executed—a soldier who had deserted to the rebels—punishing the remainder by short terms of imprisonment. This he had done, as he himself declared, because he desired his country to forget the whole business as speedily as possible. General Maxwell, however, to whom the control of Ireland had been committed, was equally determined that Ireland should remember. “I shall put down sedition,” he said to one who pleaded for clemency, “so that it shall never again raise its head.” One by one the leaders were shot and their bodies buried in prison graves. The last to die was Connolly, who, wounded during the fighting, had to be executed seated in a chair. The remainder of those convicted of complicity in the Rising were sentenced to penal servitude. On the instant Irish sentiment swung round ; and Pearse, McDonough, and Connolly took their places in Irish memory

with Wolfe Tone and Edward FitzGerald and Robert Emmet. The emotion which swept Ireland at this time is well expressed in Mr. Yeats's lines :

“ We know their dream ; enough  
To know they dreamed and are dead.  
And what if excess of love  
Bewildered them till they died ?  
I write it out in a verse—  
MacDonagh and MacBride  
And Connolly and Pearse  
Now and in time to be,  
Wherever green is worn  
Are changed, changed utterly :  
A terrible beauty is born.”

To fill the place of every one who had fallen, a thousand were now ready to offer themselves in the same cause. And if instead of fifteen, fifteen hundred had been shot, it may be the revolutionary cause would only have received the greater stimulus. The faith of Pearse was justified of his enemies.

Inexplicable or perverse as all this must seem to Englishmen, it is yet true that the manner of Pearse's death “ won his defeated ends.” Thousands who had never known him now revered his memory ; and among them were not a few who, either in their own persons or in the persons of those dearest to them, were at that very moment fighting England's battles in France.

From the executions which followed the Easter week of 1916 dates the rise of Sinn Féin to be the dominant factor in Irish political life. For some two years thereafter there was a superficial tranquillity. Many hundreds of young men were during this period imprisoned, released, re-arrested, as British policy wavered backwards and forwards between conciliation and repression. A last hope of peaceable reform flickered awhile during the sittings of the Convention. When this was extinguished, Sinn Féin no longer found anyone capable of disputing its authority over Nationalist Ireland.

During the early months of 1919 interest centred upon the Paris Conference. Taking perhaps a little too seriously the then fashionable doctrine of self-determination, people seem to have persuaded themselves that the delegates of Europe and America, forgetting their own quarrels, would insist, even at the risk of a new war, upon the immediate liberation of Ireland. In the meantime the majority of Irish members elected in 1918, refusing, as their pledges required them, to attend at Westminster, assembled in Dublin under the style of Dáil Eireann and bound themselves to uphold the new Republican State.



Ministers were appointed and the work of supplanting the administration of the Crown undertaken with considerable success, especially in the sphere of local government. A Republican loan was launched both in Ireland and in the United States. To most of the capitals of Europe and of America representatives were sent, charged with the duty of encouraging direct trade with Ireland and also of obtaining if possible recognition of the Republic. At home an industrial commission, upon which men of all parties were invited to serve, proceeded to study the development of manufactures and fisheries. But perhaps the most notable creation of this period were the Arbitration Courts, which, dealing as well with agrarian as with other disputes, succeeded in ousting over a great part of Ireland the authority of magistrates and of Judges of Assize. It is only right to say that these tribunals won even from classes most hostile to Sinn Féin a very large measure of confidence and respect. To the emergency land courts in particular—presided over by Mr. Kevin O'Sheil (now Assistant Legal Adviser to the Free State Government)—must be given the credit of having put a speedy end to a very dangerous *Jacquerie* in the western counties.

It was not to be expected that the British Government would acquiesce in this direct challenge to its authority. The Dáil was suppressed; and such of its members as were unable or unwilling to leave Ireland were soon either under arrest or "on the run." Severe measures were taken against those newspapers which had published advertisements of the Republican loan; the Arbitration Courts were obliged to sit in secret; and even the Industrial Commission was, on several occasions, dispersed by force.

So far the task of repression was easy enough. But now another and far more formidable movement began to show itself. As had happened a hundred times before in Irish history, the national craving for self-government, driven underground, emerged in a more sinister shape. Open insurrection had, it is true, once more proved chiefly hurtful to Ireland herself. Foreign aid, whether in arms or diplomacy, was no longer expected, for the Irish envoys in Paris had failed even to obtain a hearing from the representatives of the Great Powers. But, it was argued, a guerrilla war such as harassed Napoleon in the Spanish Peninsula might be set on foot; communications cut; small parties of the "enemy" cut off; the country, in a word, rendered untenable for the British garrison.

The first blow fell upon the Royal Irish Constabulary. Hitherto this force, raised for the most part from among the sons of small farmers, had been far from unpopular. Even at the height of the Land League, recruits had come forward so readily that only those reaching a very high standard of physique and educational attainment had been taken into its ranks. But now Young Ireland was taught to regard the Constabulary as the spies of an usurping Power and to consider the killing or wounding of these unfortunate men as a patriotic act. Many outlying barracks were attacked and burnt; many more evacuated as untenable. Some members of the force were obliged to resign; many were brutally murdered; and no recruits could be procured. For a time it seemed as if the greater part of the country was about to fall, without a struggle, into the hands of the Republican army. To this new offensive, however, the Government replied by pouring in ever-increasing numbers of regular troops, and by investing its Irish Executive with extraordinary powers. In most of the larger towns curfew regulations were enforced; trial by jury was suspended, and the holding of coroners' inquests prohibited; while jurisdiction in most cases of a political character was transferred from civil to military courts. Active operations were undertaken on a considerable scale; and arrests became so numerous that, the jails being crowded to excess, huge internment camps had to be established for the reception of suspects.

Had this been all, no reasonable person could have complained. Nothing less was to be expected of any *de facto* Government faced by declared rebellion against its authority. Unfortunately the Cabinet next proceeded to augment the depleted ranks of the R.I.C. by hasty recruitment in Great Britain among the unemployed ex-private soldiers. Now the constabulary organisation, based as it was upon the garrisoning of isolated barracks by small bodies of constables encouraged to act on their own initiative and responsibility, presupposed that exceptionally high standard of discipline for which the R.I.C. had been famous. In normal times recruits were carefully selected and subjected to a long training in police duties. It was only to be expected, therefore, that this sudden incursion of men accustomed to a wholly different system of discipline under the vigilant eyes of regimental officers should have unfortunate consequences. As might have been foreseen, the Black-and-Tans—so nicknamed because at their first coming into Ireland they wore dark police caps and belts with

khaki tunics and breeches—soon achieved a most unenviable notoriety. Stories—some of them apparently well authenticated, for much evidence was given before judicial tribunals—began to spread of counter-brutalities perpetrated by this section of the forces of the Crown—pillage, robbery under arms, the killing and even (it was said) the torture of prisoners. Still more unfortunately, little or no effort appears to have been made for a long time to restrain or discountenance these excesses.

During this period the Irish Office appears to have believed that it had to do only with a relatively small number of miscreants commonly described as the “murder gang.” Believing this, it was not averse from giving these people and any who might be supposed to sympathise with them a taste of their own medicine. The policy of reprisals was at first denied, then tacitly admitted, and at last officially recognised.

The effect of all this upon the lives of quiet folk, in town and country, can hardly be imagined by anyone who did not live in Ireland during these years. “We have two Governments in Ireland,” declared an Irish Peer in the House of Lords, “and neither can protect us from the other.” No one’s life or property was secure. No one was free from peril of kidnapping or arrest; for the spy-mania which rages in time of civil war brought the most innocent under suspicion of one or other of the contending parties, and the most absurd denunciations, malicious or deliberately misleading, were greedily received. In retaliation for attacks by the I.R.A.,<sup>1</sup> Crown forces “shot up” and burned large portions of Fermoy, Cork, Trim, Balbriggan and a score of the smaller towns, besides innumerable farm-houses, co-operative creameries and shops.

On the other hand, their opponents were at least as far from restricting themselves to what might pass for legitimate warfare. The most brutal murders, as well of civilians as of unarmed soldiers and policemen, became so frequent as scarcely to excite remark; whilst anyone who came under suspicion of favouring the enemies of the Republic was more than likely to have his house burned over his head. Roving bands of “gunmen”—many of whom seem to have been ordinary criminals finding their profit in these disorders—quartered themselves upon the country people and committed all manner of outrages unchecked and unpunished.

It is not without reason that these years will be long remembered in Ireland as the time of “the Terror.” According to an official statement issued shortly before the conclusion of the

<sup>1</sup> Irish Republican Army.



truce, one hundred and forty-seven affrays, in which bombs and firearms were employed, occurred in Dublin alone between January 1 and June 4, 1921. In these affrays 15 of the Crown forces were killed and 58 wounded, while 46 civilians were killed and 163 wounded. Among the killed were 4 women and 6 children ; among the wounded 34 women and 19 children.

Meanwhile North-east Ulster had troubles of its own. There sectarian animosities, incomparably stronger in that part of Ireland than elsewhere, had again been aroused. In 1920 some thousands of Catholic workmen were driven from their employment in the Belfast shipyards; whilst in the neighbouring town of Lisburn a mob wrecked the greater part of the Catholic quarter. Nor were these isolated occurrences, for savage riots in which both parties made free use of revolvers, rifles and bombs, broke out again and again in Belfast and Derry. In the course of these disturbances at least 13,000 persons are said to have been rendered homeless.

In retaliation for the expulsion of Catholics from the shipyards, Sinn Féin imposed a boycott upon Belfast commercial houses and upon goods of Belfast origin, thus crippling the distributive trade of that city and inflicting severe loss, through the withdrawal of deposits from branches of the northern banks, even upon the shipbuilding and linen industries.

Something, however, more terrible than the individual suffering, destruction of property, or loss of trade now threatened Ireland. Violent crime, for which no excuse of political motive could be alleged, was becoming daily more common. Deeds, moreover, from which a few years earlier all decent people would have recoiled in horror, now attracted so little notice that it seemed as though the moral code of civilised humanity had no longer any sanction either of public restraint or private conscience. Ireland was fast slipping into the abyss of anarchy—not the anarchy which excited politicians predict whenever a change which displeases them is proposed, but anarchy stark and absolute, such as Western Europe has not known since the days which followed the fall of the Roman Empire.

Then, just when all seemed hopeless, hope was reborn. In 1920 the Ministry had succeeded in passing a new Government of Ireland Bill, repealing the Act of 1914 and substituting for the All-Ireland Assembly contemplated by that Act two Parliaments, one with jurisdiction over the six counties of the north-east, the other over the remaining twenty-six counties. It had been evident from the beginning that these proposals



would not be accepted by any party in "Southern Ireland" (as the area which includes Malin Head and Tory Island was strangely termed); and in default of acceptance a system of Crown Colony Government was to be established. In the six counties, on the other hand, the new Act, though received without enthusiasm, was seen at least to afford an excellent tactical position from which to resist pressure from Dublin. Accordingly the Northern Parliament was duly elected; and on June 7, 1921 his Majesty King George V proceeded to open it in person. In performing this function his Majesty did one of those kindly acts which, as expressive of the deepest sentiments of a whole people, are the best justification of constitutional monarchy. In words which by their manifest sincerity delighted his subjects in both islands, the King issued an appeal for peace and reconciliation.

His action had been well advised, and the response was unmistakable. Not in Ireland only were all but a few fanatics weary of the present distress and filled with anxiety for the future. In Great Britain also many people were seeking eagerly for some issue from a struggle which, inglorious, costly and interminable, was injuring the good name of Britain throughout the world. It had at last become plain to the ordinary man and woman that the Government had hopelessly misunderstood the strength and character of the Irish movement. Some 60,000 regular troops of all arms, equipped with aeroplanes, artillery, tanks, armoured cars and machine-guns, and supported by a mobile corps of auxiliary police and by a much augmented force of constabulary, all under the supreme command of one of the ablest of British Generals, had for many months been facing the insurgents; but, owing largely to restrictions imposed by the British Government, they had been unable to achieve definitive results. The insurgents, far from being subdued, were daily increasing in the success and daring of their exploits.

It was not, indeed, to be supposed that England was at the end of her resources or that she would be unable to make sure of ultimate victory, if military success were alone considered. But the price which must now be paid was such as no civilised people could calmly contemplate—for it was nothing less than ruin of loyalists and rebels alike and the slaughter of a large part of the male population of the country. Moreover, when victory should have been achieved—with unforeseeable consequences to the foreign and domestic relations of Great Britain—a final settlement of the Irish question

would, in all probability, be further off than ever. This being so, nothing remained but to open negotiations with the elected representatives of Ireland.

On June 26, 1921, Mr. Lloyd George publicly invited Mr. Eamon de Valera, President of the Dáil Eireann since 1917, and Sir James Craig, now Prime Minister in the Northern Parliament, to attend a conference in London. Interned members of the Dáil were released ; and the Dáil itself was enabled once more to meet openly. Friendly interviews took place between Mr. de Valera and representatives both of the Southern and Northern Unionists. But most significant of the happy change was the fact that on July 8 General Macready, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of the Crown in Ireland, was able to walk unguarded through a cheering crowd to conclude with the Chief of the Republican Army a general truce, which, though often threatened by sporadic irregularities on one side or the other, was thereafter loyally observed and maintained by the responsible parties. Curfew regulations were abolished, except in Belfast, where sectarian rioting continued to disturb the peace of the city. Domiciliary searches ceased. The familiar sound of bombs and rifle-firing was no longer heard in the streets of Dublin. Men who had been "on the run" were once more able to sleep in their own homes. Soldiers and high officials were able to go everywhere in unaccustomed safety. And even the "new police," hitherto unable to move from their barracks except in armoured cars with rifles at the ready, were to be met carrying no more formidable equipment than bathing-towels or tennis racquets.

Nevertheless the autumn months were a time of great anxiety. The negotiations preliminary to conference dragged slowly along and, notwithstanding the good offices of General Smuts and other influential peacemakers, were repeatedly on the point of rupture. Indeed, it was not until the first week of October that Irish plenipotentiaries were able to start for London. Even then there was another period of suspense ; for proposals and counter-proposals were repeatedly rejected by one side or the other. At length, shortly after midnight on December 6, Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland were signed by Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Lord Birkenhead, Mr. Winston Churchill and others on behalf of the British Cabinet, and by Mr. Arthur Griffith, Mr. Michael Collins, Mr. Robert Barton, Mr. E. S. Duggan and Mr. Gavan Duffy on behalf of Dáil Eireann. This Anglo-Irish Agreement was of the most revolutionary character.

Everything Nationalist Ireland had ever demanded was now conceded, short of complete separation from the Empire and the forcible inclusion of North-eastern Ulster in the Irish State.

By the first article it is provided that Ireland "shall have the same Constitutional status in the Community of Nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand and the Union of South Africa . . . and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State"; by the second and third that "the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown or the representative of the Crown and of the Imperial Parliament to the Dominion of Canada shall govern their relationship to the Irish Free State," and that "the representative of the Crown shall be appointed in like manner as the Governor-General of Canada and in accordance with the practice observed in the making of such appointments."

Thus—while the words "colony" and "dominion" are skilfully avoided as historically untrue or otherwise objectionable—Ireland secures by this instrument the full benefits, subject to certain provisions required by her geographical position, of all that is now implied by Dominion status, including the right of admission to membership of the League of Nations.

The vexed question of allegiance was settled by requiring Members of the Parliament of the Irish Free State to "swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established," and to "be faithful to his Majesty King George V his heirs and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland and Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of Nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations." The Free State is to assume liability for such proportion of the existing Public Debt of the United Kingdom and of the payment of war pensions "as may be fair and equitable, having regard to any just claims" on her part, "by way of set-off or counterclaim" (this provision being generally understood as having reference to past over-taxation), and the sums in question are to be determined, in default of agreement, by arbitration.

For a period of five years maritime defence is vested, as hitherto, in the Royal Navy; thereafter a conference is to be held "with a view to the undertaking by Ireland of a share in her own coastal defence." Admiralty rights and property are retained in the dockyard port of Berehaven, harbour defences at that port and also at Queenstown, Belfast Lough and Lough Swilly remaining in charge of British care and maintenance

parties. In time of war or strained relations with a foreign Power the Free State binds itself to afford the Imperial Forces "such harbour and other facilities as the British Government may require for the purposes of such defence." The Army of the Free State must "not exceed in size such proportion of the military establishments maintained in Great Britain as that which the population of Ireland bears to the population of Great Britain."

So much for the new status of Ireland in the British Commonwealth. Ulster was recognised as forming *prima facie* a portion of the Free State ; but it was stipulated that if within a month of the passing of an Act of Parliament for the ratification of the instrument an address should be presented to His Majesty by both Houses of the Parliament of Northern Ireland, the powers of the Parliament and Government of the Free State should no longer extend to the six counties ; and a Commission of three persons was to "determine, in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographical conditions, the future boundaries between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland." In any event the powers bestowed by the Act of 1920 were to be preserved to the Parliament and Government of Northern Ireland.

Finally, the Treaty provided for the creation of a Provisional Government pending the formal constitution of the Parliament and Government of the Free State ; for the transfer to such Provisional Government of the powers and machinery requisite for the discharge of its duties ; and for the submission of the instrument itself to the Imperial Parliament and to the members already elected to sit in the House of Commons of Southern Ireland under the Act of 1920.



## CHAPTER XIX

### THE TREATY AND ITS RECEPTION

HERE, then, was an instrument of enfranchisement which, one might have thought, no one but a madman would reject. Ireland had gone wild with joy when the Home Rule Bill of '86 was introduced. She had welcomed hardly less cordially the Bill of '93 and had lit bonfires to celebrate the second reading of that of 1912. Yet, when, in December 1922, a measure of freedom far exceeding the dearest hopes of previous generations was to be had for the taking, the signatories were met on their return with silence and black looks.

For weeks the fate of the Treaty hung in the balance. The members of Dáil had been elected just when Ireland had lost all faith in constitutional action. There was hardly one of them but had in the interval been put in prison by the British Government, hardly one but had lost relatives or intimate friends in the recent hostilities. With few exceptions they were young, enthusiastic and unversed in affairs. They had all sworn to "uphold the Republic"; and by men of this sort phrases are more regarded than facts. Nor did mere facts necessarily confound them. After a struggle in which they had outmanœuvred and believed themselves to have outfought "the enemy," they had just seen a powerful British Prime Minister press upon Ireland that very Dominion status which a few months earlier he had sworn never to concede. That which a little while before had seemed to be impossible had been actually achieved—might not continued audacity win the little that still remained?

The memory of the dead, the rights of children yet unborn, were alike invoked by men and women in whose eyes these counted for more than the now manifest wishes of the living. For it became daily more evident that the country desired peace. From all sides messages in this sense came pouring in from county councils, from commercial bodies, even from Sinn Féin clubs. In all Ireland only three of the local councils

had declared against the Treaty. At length the calm wisdom and steadfast courage of Griffith and his supporters prevailed ; and on January 7, 1922, the Dáil by a majority of seven decided to accept the Treaty. Ratification by the "members elected to serve in the Parliament of Southern Ireland" speedily followed (Mr. de Valera's followers absenting themselves); and a Provisional Government was established. Mr. Michael Collins became Prime Minister and Mr. Griffith President of the Dáil.

Meanwhile in England the agreement had been approved by huge majorities in either House of Parliament. Having with characteristic slowness made up their minds to concede the substance of the Irish claims, the British people acted then and later with not less characteristic thoroughness and loyalty. On January 16 there took place almost unnoticed one of the most astonishing events in Anglo-Irish history—the "surrender" (as it was popularly called) of Dublin Castle. Only the Irish-born understand what the "Castle" has meant to successive generations of Irishmen. What the Bastille was to the France of the old régime, that and much more Dublin Castle has been to Ireland since the first coming of the English. For centuries it served both as a fortress and as a prison. Many were the chieftains of the Gael and of the Anglo-Irish whose heads mouldered above its gates ; many those who, like Red Hugh O'Donnell and his boy companions, spent weary years in its dungeons. In later days it had been at once the symbol and the effective centre of Protestant ascendancy. Within its walls was hatched the intrigue which led, through corruption and violence, to the Legislative Union ; from one or other of its offices was issued each of the innumerable edicts devised during the ensuing one hundred and twenty years for the curbing of Irish National aspirations. Nay more, in the months immediately preceding the truce, it had reverted, in part at least, to its earlier uses. Through its barricaded gateway the armoured cars had driven night after night in search of suspects, and through it had entered scores of prisoners on their way to jail or the scaffold.

And now, by the irony of fortune, the Castle itself was chosen as the spot upon which the last of the long line of Irish Viceroys should formally recognise as the head of the new Irish Government that one of all the insurrectionary chiefs upon whom the authorities of the Castle had been most anxious to lay hands. Yet so quickly was the business done that few people in Dublin were even aware of what was happening. A few words of

welcome and good-will from Lord FitzAlan, a formal presentation of the heads of Departments to their new masters—and Mr. Michael Collins and his colleagues returned as unostentatiously as they had come. Only the wide-open gateway itself bore witness to the happy ending of that quarrel which for seven hundred years had brought nothing but misery to Ireland and to England alike.

A heavy and perilous task still lay, however, before the new and as yet inexperienced rulers of Ireland. Months must necessarily elapse before the whole of the machinery of government could be transferred, the British troops withdrawn and the Free State duly constituted. Meantime many nice questions remained to be negotiated with the Cabinets of Great Britain and of Northern Ireland. The public finances were in disorder; for in the confusion of recent years many people had withheld payment of income-tax, land-purchase annuities and local rates. No police force existed to take the place of the disbanded Constabulary. Worst of all—while the last shreds of British authority were rapidly dissolving, the habit of obedience to native rule had not yet had time to establish itself.

To all this was soon added an insurrectionary movement which, beginning in open warfare, quickly degenerated into murder, brigandage and wanton destruction of both public and private property. In Dublin itself, early in the new year, a party of armed men took forcible possession of the Courts of Justice (commonly known as the Four Courts), with the declared intention of provoking a conflict with the British soldiers still in garrison, and of thus bringing about a renewal of the Anglo-Irish conflict. The new ministers were in a difficult position. To acquiesce in so flagrant a defiance was plainly impossible. To invoke the aid of the British army against their countrymen was odious in their own eyes and would have been in the eyes of others plenary proof that they were the tools and paid agents of Downing Street. Yet it was at first doubtful whether they could safely rely upon their own hastily raised troops, composed as those were of men who a few months before had been comrades-in-arms of the insurgents.

The kidnapping of one of the chief officers of the Provisional Government appears to have brought things to a crisis. After repeated summons, the Four Courts were attacked and taken by the Government's troops. With reduction of other rebel posts some days later, the rebellion in Dublin ignominiously collapsed, leaving as its memorial the ruins of the Four Courts



consumed by fire, together with the adjoining Record Office and its priceless historical manuscripts.

Elsewhere the "Irregulars," as the Republican extremists now came to be known, collected in greater numbers; and operations on a considerable scale had to be undertaken to dislodge them from their strongholds in Munster and Connaught. By the autumn, the rebellion had ceased as an open movement—only, however, to take on a more sinister shape. Bands of Irregulars moved from place to place, cutting off small parties of Government troops. In Dublin itself, bombing and sniping were once again among the ordinary incidents of life; and ministers were held as close prisoners in their offices, as Sir Hamar Greenwood and his colleagues had been two years earlier. Nor were the Provisional Government and its servants the only sufferers. War had been in effect declared upon the Nation itself. The Republicans scoffed at the notion of majority rule, and openly denied the competence of the people of Ireland to choose any form of government but that which commended itself to the enlightened minority. "The civil population," wrote the Chief of the Irregular Staff, "are sheep to be driven."

In order to reduce their countrymen to a better frame of mind, the Irregulars proceeded to trench roads, blow up bridges, tear up railway-lines, tear down telegraph-wires, loot banks and set fire to dwelling-houses. Before the orgy of destruction was brought to an end in the spring of 1923, Irish property to the value of not less than fifty million pounds sterling had been destroyed.

There was at one time grave danger lest this campaign should succeed, not indeed in endearing the Republican principle, but in making people despair of attaining peace except through concession of the Republican claim. It seemed only too likely, also, that the Treaty and all that hung by it would not survive the loss of Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins. Griffith, the founder of Sinn Féin and the wisest of its leaders, died, worn out by excessive labour, just when the Irregular movement was at its height; Collins, the most popular of all those who had championed the Treaty Settlement, was not long after mortally wounded in an ambush.

In the event, however, the saying that no man is indispensable was once more justified. With extraordinary courage, moral and physical—for at this time every Minister went in hourly peril of his life—the Ministry of Mr. Cosgrave, who now succeeded to the Presidency of the Council, stuck grimly to



their posts. The army was reorganised, reduced in numbers but more efficiently disciplined ; and under its steady pressure the lurking bands of Irregulars were gradually surrounded or dispersed, many ringleaders being summarily shot, others, together with the rank and file, interned. Upon those, moreover, who had made of Republicanism a cloak for sordid crime or paltry dishonesty the hand of the Government fell heavily. The looting of banks, post-offices or shops, together with the " commandeering " of motor-cars and the holding-up of wayfarers, presently became less common, since those who indulged in these gentle sports now found that they could no longer count upon immunity from punishment. In certain counties, again, people who had been pasturing their cattle on other men's land found the beasts seized by the troops and sold for the benefit of their intended victims—thus experiencing an effective form of justice which no British Chief Secretary could ever have ventured to propose.

It is indeed highly significant that nowhere in Ireland did these severities—whether directed against political, agrarian or other offenders—evoke that general sympathy with the wrongdoers which had inevitably attended the mildest form of coercion applied by the old régime.

## CHAPTER XX

### THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND THE FUTURE

THE restoration of order apart, the most noteworthy event of this period was the framing of the Constitution of the Free State by the Dáil returned at the general election of 1922. Both because of its points of resemblance to, and because of its points of divergence from, older models, the new Constitution is of interest to every citizen of that "Community of Nations" of which the first article declares Saorstát Éireann (Irish Free State) to be a "coequal member."

The Oireachtas (or Parliament) is defined as consisting in King, Senate and Dáil (or Chamber of Deputies). The oath to be taken by members of Parliament is that set out in Article 4 of the Treaty; which instrument also governs the appointment and functions of the Governor-General as the representative of the Crown. So far we are on familiar ground. The departures from accepted usage require more detailed exposition.

A stranger who should fail to understand that in England the most important things are seldom expressed in words, might well believe that country to be living to-day under an absolute monarchy. Official phraseology still presents the King as the supreme lawgiver, judge, governor civil and military and sole fount of honour; whereas in reality he is unable to exercise his prerogative except at the instance of a Cabinet which, itself an excrescence upon the Constitution, has usurped the functions of his Privy Council. Assured that from whatever quarter their liberties may be attacked it will not be by the Crown, the British People are well content to retain those time-honoured words and usages which remind them of their inheritance in a far-off and romantic past. The Englishman is not made uncomfortable by verbal inconsistency; rather he seems to love a legal fiction and to be jealous of shibboleths which confound the alien. Without part in these traditions, and prone by temperament and training to exalt, as the Englishman to despise, formal logic, the Irishman of to-day, when he is not seeking to re-establish a polity more ancient than

that of mediæval England, is eager to develop to their last consequences the premises of latter-day Democracy. The tacit understandings, the instinctive reliance upon precedent rather than written law, which rule every part of English life, are not for him. He has an almost Latin regard for large general principles and exact statement.

Hence it is that those who framed the Irish Constitution have everywhere sought to set down in black and white the underlying ideas and unwritten usages of modern Parliamentary Government.

"All powers of Government," we read in the second article of the Constitution, "and all authority, legislative, financial, executive and judicial, in Ireland, are derived from the People of Ireland, and the same shall be exercised in the Free State through the organisations established by or under or in accord with this Constitution." Again, it is expressly laid down that no title of honour is to be conferred on any citizen of the Free State except with the approval or upon the advice of the Irish Cabinet.

These provisions, though at first sight derogatory to the rights of the Crown, do in fact no more than state in blunter language than has hitherto been customary, one the essential principle, the other an established if not wholly salutary practice, of British Parliamentary Government.

The same tendency is observable in the articles relating to the Cabinet or Executive Council. Of the unwritten rules of the British Constitution none is less disputable than that which requires the Sovereign to choose as his Chief Minister a man who commands the support of the House of Commons. Accordingly, the Irish Constitution provides that the President of the Council is to be appointed by the Crown "on the nomination of Dáil Eireann." During recent years, moreover, there has been in Great Britain a growing tendency to appoint Commoners to the great offices of State. Already the holding of a Peerage of the United Kingdom appears to be regarded as a serious disqualification for the Premiership; and most of the heads of each of the principal spending departments sit in the Lower House.

In Ireland this tendency has been carried much further; for here only members of the Dáil can be members of the Executive Council—a provision of doubtful wisdom, since it must prevent the country from making full use of such ability and experience as may be found in the Senate.

An echo of the controversies which once raged round Mr. Lloyd George's famous Budget of 1909 is heard in the articles

which regulate the relations of Senate and Dáil. Over Money Bills the latter has exclusive authority; but two-fifths of the members of either House may require the question whether a Bill is a Money Bill to be referred to a Committee of Privileges composed of equal numbers of Dáil and Senate, with a chairman who is to be a senior Judge of the Supreme Court.

In relation to all other Bills, there is substituted for the cumbrous machinery of the British Parliament Act a much simpler provision whereby, failing resolution of a deadlock through a joint sitting, the suspensory veto of the Senate is, so far as this article goes, limited to a period of nine months. If, however, undue delay is thus precluded, so also is undue haste. The Courts, interpreting Article 47 of the Constitution, have recently held that the Royal Assent may not be given to any Bill during the seven days next after its enactment, except upon the express representation of both Houses. The purpose of this is to enable effect to be given, on occasion, to the Referendum. Either two-fifths of the Dáil or a majority of the Senate may present a written demand that the operation of any Bill passed or "deemed to have been passed" be suspended for three months. If, within that period, either a three-fifths majority of the Senate or one-twentieth of the voters on the Register so require, the Bill must be submitted to the Electors for final decision.

But again, if the People are to be sovereign not only in word but in deed, they must be able to ensure as well the introduction as the rejection of Bills. It is therefore provided that proposals for laws may be initiated on the petition of 50,000 voters, and that proposals so initiated, if rejected by Parliament, shall be submitted to the Electorate in accordance with the regulations governing the Referendum.

Two features of the Constitution deserve particular attention, if only because of their novelty. Whereas members of the Cabinet have full collective responsibility to the Lower House, Ministers not being members of the Cabinet have no such responsibility for Government policy, but are to hold office so long as the Dáil existing at the time of their appointment lasts, and may not be removed save for definite acts of misfeasance, incompetence or disobedience to the will of the Chamber.

Closely connected with the foregoing is a provision, not as yet effective, for the establishment of "Functional or Vocational Councils representing branches of the social and economic life of the Nation" and for the nomination of departmental Ministers "on the advice of such councils." Here, it will be



seen, we have the first attempt made in Western Europe to fuse together the old territorial and the new vocational theories of representative government.

To men and women the Constitution expressly guarantees equal rights. The Dáil is to be elected on the basis of adult suffrage and upon the principle of Proportional Representation; the Senate (after the first few years) by "citizens irrespective of sex who have reached the age of thirty years."

Finally, in order to deprive the executive of a weapon which modern Cabinets have often abused, it is provided that Parliament may not be dissolved on the advice of an Executive Council which has ceased to have the support of a majority of the Chamber of Deputies.

Such, briefly, is the Constitution of the Irish Free State, as it has been devised by the representatives of the Irish People and approved by both Houses of the Imperial Parliament.

The Dáil elected in 1922, primarily as a Constituent Assembly, was dissolved after some thirteen months of strenuous labour in July 1923 by his Excellency Timothy Michael Healy, first Governor-General. In addition to having dealt with the Constitution, it had passed a long series of Emergency Acts and at least one measure of permanent and general interest—that, namely, which is designed to complete, through universal and compulsory sale and purchase, the transfer of agricultural lands from owner to occupier. As from the "appointed day" the familiar words "landlord" and "tenant" will cease to have any application to rural Ireland. All tenanted land as yet unsold and, with specified exceptions, such untenanted land as may be required for the relief of congestion, will vest in the Land Commission. Purchasing tenants are to pay annuities from 30 per cent. to 35 per cent. less than their judicial rents; owners to receive sums approximately equal to from 65 per cent. to 73 per cent. of their gross rentals. To say that everyone is satisfied or that no one will suffer loss under this Act would be absurd. But, all things considered, it must be acknowledged that a popularly elected Irish Parliament has proved both willing and able to deal reasonably with the conflicting interests involved.

The General Election of 1923 has left the relative strength of supporters and opponents of the Treaty very much what it was before. No single party has a clear majority in the new Dáil; but on all questions vital to the Treaty the Government party, itself the most numerous, is assured of the support of the Farmers' party and of the Independents. Labour, which

has hitherto acted as an unofficial opposition, lost ground at the elections. The Republicans, who will probably persist in their refusal to take the oath required of members, hold 44 seats out of a total of 153. The total poll was surprisingly small, to which fact and to the advantages which the system of Proportional Representation offers to organised minorities is clearly to be ascribed such success as the Republicans have achieved. It seems possible that the very success of the Government in quelling revolt tended to promote apathy in the Electorate; since many electors, deeming the settlement to be safe and surfeited by the excitements of past years, were indisposed to trouble themselves about political issues. It is clear, at any rate, that to the majority of Irishmen republican theory and sentiment were never more than "flags and tuckets in a battle." They can still rally a devoted band round them, but they have no roots in the soil. That the Republican doctrinaires are sincere and courageous everyone admits; but to them the good sense of their countrymen may well apply Plutarch's verdict upon certain famous Greeks:

"Agisilaus, Lysander, Nicias, Alcibiades and all other famous captains of former times had very good skill to lead an army and to winne the battle, but to turn their victories to any honourable benefit or true honour among men, they could not skill of it."

The end, then, of the first year of native rule finds order restored and the ability of Irishmen to rule themselves vindicated. Both north and south popularly elected governments have held their ground against the attack of extremists. In neither area, it is true, does the Executive as yet feel able to dispense with those extraordinary precautions which the existence or threat of insurrection has rendered necessary. The Free State is still obliged to maintain on a war footing an army of nearly 40,000 men: the Northern Government, notwithstanding the continued presence of a large British garrison, still employs, in addition to the newly-formed Royal Ulster Constabulary, a great number of special constables, of whom one class at least are soldiers in all but name. Each government still interns many suspects, whose detention and release are alike embarrassing and dangerous. Each still has to face the problem of a minority that steadily refuses it obedience or recognition. Nevertheless there are many signs that we are gradually approaching more normal conditions. In both areas batches of internees are being released. In the northern, "specials" are being gradually disbanded. In the Free State,

unarmed Civic Guards have in many country districts taken the place of soldiers. During the past few months the army of the Free State has been reduced by some 10,000 men ; and it appears from a statement recently made by the Minister of Defence that a similar reduction is to be effected by the end of the financial year. To do more at this moment would perhaps be imprudent ; for the country is still full of hidden arms, and the extremists may perhaps for a little while longer refuse to recognise the accomplished fact.

Yet to anyone whose mind is not, in Gibbon's pleasant phrase, "clouded by enthusiasm," it is plain that the existing order is, in its main features, unalterable. It is not to be supposed that the North-east will ever wholly surrender either to Dublin or Downing Street its powers of self-government. On the other hand, the verdict of Nationalist Ireland has been twice delivered in favour of the Treaty ; whilst of those who in the South formerly opposed Home Rule, Mr. Cosgrave has recently declared : "There was an order in the country known as the Southern Unionists. It no longer exists. They are citizens—and good citizens—of Saorstát Éireann, citizens who have given of their best in our darkest hour." Of not less happy augury is the fact that in a time of unexampled difficulty both the Cabinet of Great Britain and the executive council of the Free State have with scrupulous loyalty observed as well the spirit as the letter of the Treaty of Reconciliation.

Lastly, it must be observed that with the admission of the Free State to membership of the League of Nations (in September 1923), Ireland has now again definitely taken her place among the Free Nations of Christendom.

These things being once recognised with all that they imply, the way is open to a reconsideration of the relations which are to exist in future between the separated parts of the Irish body politic. If for material reasons only, the existing arrangements cannot long endure. In an earlier chapter something was said of the special case of the border counties. Quite apart from this, however, the present frontier line is a grotesque absurdity. "Two hundred and twenty-five miles in length, it runs through and divides fourteen hundred agricultural holdings. It cuts across twenty or more railway tracks and across roads, lanes and paths almost innumerable. A train in one locality crosses it six times in eight miles."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The writer is indebted for these figures to Mr. Henry Harrison's excellent article in the Irish Supplement of the *Manchester Guardian Commercial*, March 15, 1923.



In the course of a few hours' journey the traveller must sometimes submit himself to as many as four several customs examinations. Road traffic near the border is severely restricted both in respect of hours and routes. It is not difficult to imagine what all this involves in restraint of trade, private inconvenience and public expenditure. The Boundary Commission presently to be set up under Article 12 of the Treaty may possibly be able to effect some minor improvements. Even so, the partition of this little island can never be more than barely tolerable. The ties which bind the two areas together are many and strong. Not even the shipbuilding and linen industries of Belfast, worked though they are on the main to satisfy demands arising outside Ireland, can afford quite to neglect Irish national sentiment ; for no small part of the banking credits which nourish them are based upon the savings of the agricultural South. Much more directly does the distributive trade of Belfast, of Derry, Newry and other Ulster towns lean upon the support of the Ireland which lies beyond the existing Ulster borders. These plain facts are even now not without influence upon the Northern mind. Nor can the Protestant Ulsterman—however he may reprobate some manifestations of the Irish spirit—forget that he too is an Irishman.

It may well be that the North-east will defer its adhesion for some years to come. Traditional prejudices are long a-dying ; and, prejudices apart, there has quite recently been only too much to arouse reasonable fears and just resentments. But some day reunion will be achieved. Of physical coercion there can be no question—even Mr. de Valera realises that, though he is strangely slow to embrace the inevitable alternative. Reunion will come—as only it ought to come—through increasing goodwill and mutual respect.

Ireland can afford to wait. She has learned this lesson at least from her own history, that if force depends on union, union can never be won by force. To compel Ulster to yield an unwilling obedience to the new State would merely be to repeat England's discarded error. Ulster can be won—such is the serious belief of Irishmen—in other and better ways. Once secure from interruption of its own chosen manner of life—social, educational, industrial—the North-east cannot remain permanently hostile or indifferent to the rest of Ireland. It is not merely that the island is economically one unit and that no part of it can suffer loss without such loss reacting upon every other part. It is that, when all is said and done, the Northern Protestant feels in his bones that he is as much an



Irishman as any Southern Papist. The two have only to meet in any foreign country to discover quickly enough their common Irishry.

And just as material and spiritual forces must sooner or later recreate Irish unity, so will these same forces make for harmonious relations between Ireland and Great Britain. In the following chapter will be found some particulars of Anglo-Irish trade. Here it is only necessary to point out that the bulk of this trade is in the prime necessities of life—food, fuel and clothing. So too, by other and nobler ties, the fortunes of these islands are inextricably interwoven. Englishmen and Irishmen are far removed from one another by tradition, historical memory, temperament and social habit. Yet through the veins of each nation run the same mingled strains, Celt and Norman and Saxon, with Heaven alone knows what admixture of yet older races. Differ as they always will, they are affected unawares by subtle influences, ties of blood and family affection, a literature and a spoken tongue common in a large measure to both—influences which are among the irreversible results of seven hundred years of British rule. Whether for good or evil, these must now be reckoned with. Not even the most ardent Gael can hope to stem the inflow of English books and English stage-plays and English newspapers; he can only aim at creating alongside of these a literature, a drama and a press, inspired by other but not necessarily hostile ideas, and pray that in the long run the thought and speech of the Gael will prevail in friendly, open rivalry over the thought and speech of the Gall.

Indeed it is only now, when at last the forces which make for diversity are allowed free play, that those which make for unity can do their work. So long as men's minds are obsessed by the struggle for self-expression, they will be closed against all suggestions that seem to conflict with this supreme need. If English nationalism is for the most part silent and but half-conscious of its own existence, it is because England centuries ago achieved the dignity and security of a Nation-State. France, longer rent by intestine faction—so that Frenchmen could without any sense of shame join in compassing the destruction of Jeanne d'Arc—and ever conscious of the German menace to her national existence, lacks the tranquil assurance of England. In Ireland, where to the very end of the sixteenth century clan warred with clan—each accepting in turn the aid of the invaders—the national sense developed yet more slowly.

Born among the Catholic Irish, Nationalism was in fosterage for a hundred years with the Protestant colonists, who, by the mouths of Molyneux, Swift and Grattan, taught it to speak in the English tongue. After the Legislative Union the child, abandoned by its foster-parents, went back to the place of its birth. Fractious and troublesome, it was long ill-used and misunderstood and still displays those qualities of self-absorption and crude idealism which are among the notes of adolescence. Among the oldest of the nations of Europe, if age be measured by racial standards, Ireland, by reason of the artificially-retarded development of her political institutions, is the youngest of European States. Time will mellow, but not destroy, the strong wine of the new nationalism. That these two islands will henceforth live at peace with one another is the dearest hope of all men of goodwill.

It may be that the distresses of these latter years were the necessary beginning of this happy end. Without them, perhaps England would not have been brought to realise how widespread or how intense was the Irish craving for self-expression. The very fact that in recent years Englishmen had nothing but benevolent intentions towards the Irish people had hidden perhaps from both nations the true nature of British rule in Ireland. Good government, it has been said, is no substitute for self-government. It would be truer to say that in the case of nations as of individuals, only self-government can be good government. "You hear our cause as it were in a dream and feel not the smart that vexeth us." These words, spoken by an Irishman to the English Privy Council centuries ago, might well have been on the lips of Irishmen of all the succeeding generations. If the redress of particular grievances has evoked little gratitude, if sincere effort to make amends has not availed to erase old, bitter memories, it has largely been because the redress, delayed by the exigencies of British party politics, has come too late and because the effort, uninformed by such knowledge as only the inhabitants of a country have of its real needs, has been halting, partial and too often misdirected. Above all, it is because the policy of British statesmen took little account of the supreme passion of Nationalism, a passion which—though Englishmen, whose own national existence has so long been secure, found it hard to believe—reckoned all material gifts as nothing in comparison with the honour of Ireland.

The story of Ireland is a sad one. Wars innumerable, confiscations, exiles, cruelties of many kinds borne or inflicted by her people, loyalties ill-requited, treacheries rewarded, noble

instincts repressed and perverted—of such things in the main is the History of Ireland compounded. Yet even in the past we may see the presage of a happier future. The sectarian strife of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Tithe War of the earlier and the Land War of the later nineteenth century were the occasions of civil strife hardly less savage or destructive than that which has recently afflicted us. The memory of these things, though it continued long after the strife was over and done, though indeed it lingers still, is ceasing to trouble the body politic. National aspirations are necessarily more difficult to satisfy, because at once subtler and more complex than the claim to religious equality or to a better standard of living. Secular animosities cannot be appeased in a moment. Nevertheless, we have good warrant to believe that the foundations of mutual understanding as well between Irishmen in Ireland as between Irishmen and the inhabitants of the sister-island have been securely laid, and that upon these foundations there will presently be erected, to the honour of Ireland and of Great Britain, a temple of enduring Peace.





## *B*—ECONOMICS



## IRELAND AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT

THE poverty of Ireland has been the theme of many writers and orators. During the childhood of some old men and women yet living occurred the great famine of 1845-8, itself the awful culmination of the long-continued semi-starvation of the poorer peasantry. Other famines, hardly, if at all, less terrible, ravaged Ireland again and again in the eighteenth century, whilst of the sufferings endured during the time which elapsed between the death of Henry VIII and the Cromwellian conquest contemporary writers, as well English as Irish, have left us only too poignant a record. To take but one example, so desolate was Munster after the wasting of the Desmond Wars that "the lowing of a cow or the sound of a ploughboy's whistle was not heard from Valentia to the Rock of Cashel." Both then and later it was the practice of military leaders to destroy all that could support life, so that famine might complete the work of the sword. Edmund Spenser, himself an eye-witness, has described how on the conclusion of peace the survivors came creeping forth from the woods on hands and knees. "They looked," he writes, "like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of the tomb; they did eat the dead carrion; happy when they could find them, yea, and one another soon after, inasmuch as the very carcases they spared not to scrape out of their graves."

Yet it would be wrong to conclude that poverty has always been the lot of the inhabitants. Much light has recently been thrown upon the state of Gaelic Ireland; and the picture thus revealed is not all sad-coloured. Both before and long after the coming of the Normans Ireland enjoyed a not inconsiderable trade with foreign countries. Rude comfort must have been widely diffused. Its population was small, and nearly everyone had some share in the lands, whether by right of office (as in the case of chieftains, military retainers, bards and *brehons*) or in virtue of real or imputed relationship to the founder of each local community. With the introduction of Christianity serfdom gradually disappeared, and even the poorest tenants were assured, through the operation of a species of *métayer* tenure, the possession of the cattle in which, even

more than in later days, consisted the chief wealth of the country. The clan system, which continued to prevail over the greater part of Ireland until the end of the sixteenth century, was no doubt politically disastrous. Economically it had its merits ; since, based as it was on the idea of a kinship which virtually included all classes, it knew nothing of the modern vice of a landless and penniless proletariat. Certain things, on the other hand, which we are apt to think of as peculiar to a different kind of social order, have their place in that extraordinarily full record of ancient Irish custom which we call the Brehon Laws. Thus, for example, the inhabitants of each "territory" were bound to maintain a public hospital for the relief of the sick ; and compensation was legally payable to workmen injured in the course of their employment. These are not the marks of a wholly savage or indigent society. From another standpoint we shall do well to remember how many adventurers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries sailed for Ireland, as others to the Spanish Main, to make or restore their fortunes. And we shall recollect also that the laws in restraint of Irish trade were confessedly inspired by lively apprehensions of Irish rivalry. In neither case, it is clear, was Ireland then considered as a poverty-stricken or commercially negligible country.

An extraordinary series of social cataclysms has deflected the course of Irish industry. Some of these have been described in earlier chapters. Here it will be enough to remind the reader that, in the economic even more surely than in the political sphere, the consequences of violent or ill-judged interference with a nation's life remain long after the causes are forgotten. Frequently recurring wars followed by repeated confiscations and the enforced removal of thousands of the inhabitants, laws deliberately aimed at the impoverishment of the majority, a ruinous system of land tenure, passing winds of economic doctrine—all these, singly and in combination, have profoundly, and it may even be permanently, affected the numbers, distribution, avocations and industrial habits of the people.

It is therefore only by constant reference to the political events of the past that the economic position of to-day can be rendered intelligible. Moreover, extraneous influences have made it difficult to trace even now the progress of Irish industry. From the suppression of the Irish Excise in 1817 to the establishment of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland in 1899, the United Kingdom was for



most purposes treated as an economic unit. Therefore for a period which comprises over three-quarters of the nineteenth century we are without such statistics as would enable us to distinguish the separate trade, revenue or expenditure of Ireland. During recent years the gap has been partially filled by the reports of the Department of Agriculture on the one hand and, on the other, by certain Treasury Returns setting forth the "collected" and "adjusted" revenue and expenditure of England, Scotland and Ireland respectively. But, unfortunately, in neither case is the information thus supplied of unimpeachable authority. The Department itself has repeatedly emphasised the inadequacy of its statistics, based, as these have been for the most part, upon voluntary returns; whilst the Treasury's calculations both in respect of Irish revenue and expenditure have been the subject of much controversy.<sup>1</sup>

The establishment of the Irish Free State will in future make it possible to determine with much more accuracy the economic position of the twenty-six counties therein included. But for the moment certain questions are rendered more than ever difficult of solution through temporary dislocations and by the more lasting complexities involved in the cutting off of the remaining six counties. Add to these domestic considerations the disturbance of all values which has everywhere followed the Great War, and it will be seen that any estimate of Ireland's economic position must be partial and tentative. As illustrating the obstacles in the way of exact statement, it is to be noted that one cannot at the moment even say with certainty how many people the country contains. Civil disturbances prevented the taking of a census in 1921. Thus the most recently published statistics are now twelve years old. We may, however, accept as sufficiently accurate the Registrar-General's estimate of just under 4,500,000 souls for all Ireland, of whom, in the year 1921, 2,278,000 were males and 2,218,000 females. These figures are doubly interesting, first as indicating the arrest of that rapid decline which had hitherto marked each decennial period since 1841; and secondly as revealing the existence of a considerable surplus of males. The last-mentioned phenomenon is attributable partly to a somewhat unusual excess of male births, partly to the fact that of late years the

<sup>1</sup> No one, of course, suggests that the statements issued by the Treasury are intentionally misleading. But the indiscriminate taxation of the two islands necessarily rendered very difficult the task of estimating "true" as distinguished from collected revenue; and the justest of men might well have failed to allocate equitably certain large items of the common expenditure.

American labour market has offered the greater opportunities to women, and partly to the ban on the emigration of young men imposed successively during the period 1914-21 by the British authorities and by the Sinn Féin body. Since 1921 emigrants of both sexes have again been leaving Ireland in greater numbers ; and more would certainly have gone but for the American restrictions. It would therefore be rash to assume that the great wave of emigration is spent.

The following emigration-table may be of interest :

1851-1860 . . . . .	1,163,418
1861-1870 . . . . .	849,836
1871-1880 . . . . .	623,933
1881-1890 . . . . .	770,706
1891-1900 . . . . .	433,526
1901-1910 . . . . .	346,024
1911-1920 . . . . .	150,756
1921 . . . . .	13,635
1922—no figures available.	

Practically all the above have gone to the United States.

Of those who remain at home, about five-sevenths are citizens of the Free State. In all four provinces agriculture is the dominant industry. If we except those persons who are employed in the linen trade (so far as this is not dependent on Irish-grown flax) and in shipbuilding, we shall find that almost everyone draws his livelihood, immediately or at one remove, from the soil. The connection between agriculture and such industries as brewing, distilling, butter-making and bacon-curing is plain enough ; apart from the fact that, with the growth of co-operative societies, the two last-named processes are being more and more undertaken by farmers themselves. Equally certain, though less obvious, is the dependence of most shopkeepers and professional men upon the fortunes of agriculture. Occupiers of farms exceeding one acre number approximately 450,000. There are in addition some 100,000 persons who hold less than one acre. Most of these may be taken to be agricultural labourers, though in some parts of Ireland the line between small farmer and labourer is hard to draw. If we attribute to each member of these two classes an average of three dependants, we can safely conclude that fully one-half of the total population is directly engaged in agriculture.

The size of the holdings varies remarkably. At one extreme are tiny patches of soil painfully cultivated by the spade and manured with seaweed ; at the other, farms—fewer than 2,000

in all Ireland—which exceed 500 acres. Holdings of from 15 to 30 acres number 123,129 ; 72,888 holdings have from 30 to 50 acres ; 57,476 from 50 to 100 acres. Farms of less than 30 acres in extent are commonly considered as uneconomic ; but, worked as they are by the labour of the family itself, they often yield astonishingly good results. The middle grade, comprising farms of from 30 to 70 acres, may be regarded as the solid foundation of Irish agriculture. Here also little outside labour is employed. Dairying, egg-production, rearing of store cattle and pigs, are perhaps the most remunerative pursuits of the Irish farmer. Of the total profits of the industry it is impossible to form any close estimates, if only because a great part of the yearly produce is consumed on the farm itself. Mr. Bastable, Professor of Political Economy in Trinity College, Dublin, has, however, recently suggested as “a fair presumption” that “the incomes derived from and in connection with agriculture lie between figures of from £50,000,000 to £60,000,000.” Staple products are oats, potatoes, turnips and hay, together with barley and flax, the cultivation of the two last-named being confined to a few counties. Wheat is little grown, the area under this crop having declined from over 500,000 acres in 1851 to less than 35,000 acres in 1913. During the European war the area increased, as a result of high prices and the enforcement of compulsory tillage, until in 1917 it reached 124,082 acres, only to shrink rapidly again with the removal of the artificial stimulus.

The following table, showing the comparative areas under tillage, pasture, etc., for an average year (1911), is instructive :

	Acres.
Under crops . . . . .	4,861,224
Pasture . . . . .	9,846,584
Grazed mountain land . . . . .	2,584,214
Barren mountain land . . . . .	500,143
Woods or plantations . . . . .	299,791
Other lands, including turf, bog, marsh, waste, water ( <i>sic</i> ), etc. . . . .	2,279,169
Total . . . . .	20,371,125

Indeed, the area under tillage crops of all kinds has greatly diminished during the last seventy years ; for which some compensation is to be found in an increased yield per acre. During the lifetime of the present generation security of tenure, the spread of technical education, and the practice of co-operation have powerfully assisted agricultural progress. The stan-



dard of living among farmers and labourers has risen. People are better housed, better clothed and better fed. Moreover, they have been steadily increasing their savings, if the evidence of bank deposits is to be relied upon. During the period from 1913 to 1923 the sum of these deposits grew from £71,000,000 to over £210,000,000. Too much emphasis, however, must not be laid on these figures, in view of the abnormal profits of the war period and the subsequent inflation of currency. It must also be remembered that the disturbances and uncertainties of the recent years caused many people to withhold payment of land annuities, income-tax, local rates, and even of private debts, the money thus temporarily withheld going to swell the deposits.

We are on safer ground when we base our conclusions rather on the less rapid but continuous growth of bank deposits observable in the pre-war period. Even so, it is to be feared that, for some time to come, agriculture in Ireland, as elsewhere, is likely to be less than usually prosperous. A heavy fall in the price of cattle has already swept away a great part of earlier profits, whilst on the larger tillage farms the increased cost of labour is severely felt. Whereas in 1914 the average price of wheat, oats, barley and potatoes was 6s. 7½d. per cwt. and the average weekly cost of farm labour per man was 12s., in 1922 the comparable figures were 8s. 6½d. and 29s. 6d. respectively. Since there is no reason to think that agricultural prices will rise greatly beyond their recent level, and since it is neither to be expected nor desired that labourers' wages will fall to anything like the pre-war standard, the future of tillage farming on a large scale is very far from being assured. Notwithstanding that the majority of Irish farmers are able to disregard the fluctuations of the labour market, we are likely to see a further decline of tillage and an increase of permanent pasture, unless the Agricultural Commission, recently appointed by the Free State Government, can devise a remedy. The pre-eminence of agriculture in Irish life has seemed to justify somewhat lengthy treatment of rural problems. Other industries may be dealt with more briefly.

Besides exporting large numbers of cattle and sheep, Ireland drives a large trade in horses. Irish hunters and mares are known the whole world over, and for some time it was feared that the foreign demand would cause a serious depletion of the native stock. Opinions on this question differ; but on the whole there does not seem to be much ground for anxiety. The figures for 1921 were:



	Exported.		Imported.	
	No.	£ Value.	No.	£ Value.
Stallions . . . . .	265	39,750	272	68,000
Mares . . . . .	12,160	425,600	1,111	88,880
Geldings . . . . .	11,110	333,300	477	23,850

The large export of mares looks somewhat alarming ; but in view of the number of valuable stallions imported, it would seem that there must still be plenty of mares from which to breed. Mr. Twomey, of the Department of Agriculture, gives some interesting information on the subject of hunters :

“ The raising of hunters is confined almost entirely to the southern, midland and western counties of Ireland. In these areas there are available for mating with the Irish draught and hunter brood-mares a number of high-class stallions, most of which have been bred in the country ; in addition thoroughbred stallions have been imported from England from time to time. Hunter-breeding is carried on mainly by farmers owning holdings of 40 acres and upwards. In their young days the colts are given a free range of pasture and receive no special attention. They are broken when about three years old, and put to do various kinds of light farm-work for a year or two. This practice, in addition to their breeding, has a wonderful effect on the temperament of young horses and is largely responsible for the good manners and cleverness which characterise the Irish hunter.”

The above passage taken from article in the *M. G. Commercial* of May 10. In the same issue the editor of *Sport*, Dublin, dealing with race-horses more especially, remarks :

“ The field that Irish breeders are immediately cultivating is that of France ; and a leading French breeder has told us that his experience is that after three years of age the average Irish horse may be expected to make an improvement of not less than 50 per cent. His explanation was that the wholly natural manner in which Irish blood-stock is reared in foalhood and in its next succeeding stage, that of yearling, was to be held accountable for the steady progress in after-years.”

Wool and hides were the staple exports of ancient Ireland ; and the manufacture of woollen goods was actively pursued until the commercial legislation of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries extinguished the export trade in these and other articles. Linen, too, was made and used all over Ireland.

The woollen trade has never recovered from the wounds dealt it by the Penal Laws. Though several kinds of cloth are still produced, either on handlooms or in small mills, the output, judged by modern standards, is insignificant.

As for leathern goods, many efforts have been made in recent years to substitute a dead- for a live-meat trade and thereby to revive the tanning industry with its valuable by-products ; but so far with little success.

The manufacture of linen alone has been maintained and increased. It is found chiefly in Ulster, though there are spinning-mills at Dundalk, Drogheda, Balbriggan and Cork.

The trade fluctuates considerably and is at this moment (1923) on the decline.

The area under flax appears to have reached its highest point (157,000 acres) in 1871, and sank gradually until in 1914 there were not quite 50,000 acres under cultivation. Owing to the requirements of aeroplanes, etc., the War gave a great impetus to the trade, but it is now falling again.

The export of linen goods in 1921 was 22,891 tons, value nearly £23,000,000.

Alongside the linen-mills of Belfast and Derry are the great shipyards of those cities, the mills giving employment mainly to women, the shipyards to men.

Elsewhere the chief urban industries are brewing, distilling and bacon-curing. Factories also exist for the manufacture of biscuits, tobacco and agricultural machinery. Sea and inland fisheries—both potentially important—are little developed.

The following figures taken from official returns give some notion of the total trade of Ireland and of the standing of various groups of industries. In the year 1921 the gross value of all Irish exports was a little short of £130,000,000 sterling. This may be compared with an average of £67,000,000 for the years 1909-13. To this total farm produce, food- and drink-stuffs contributed something more than £74,000,000 ; raw materials, including hides and flax, not quite £3,000,000 ; manufactured goods, £52,500,000. The four most considerable items were : live stock, £27,500,000 ; eggs, poultry, butter, etc., £18,000,000 ; textiles, £35,500,000 ; machinery and ships, £13,300,000.

In the same year the gross value of all Irish imports was a little less than £119,000,000, farm produce, food- and drink-stuffs accounting for £46,500,000, raw materials for £13,000,000 and manufactured goods for £59,300,000.

These figures are based on the prices current in the year of

shipment. The extraordinary disturbance of money values occasioned by the War is shown by the fact that, measured in terms of 1904 prices, the total values of 1921 exports and imports are found to be only £42,250,000 and £44,000,000 respectively.<sup>1</sup>

The importance of the British market to the Irish producer and of the Irish producer to the British market is sufficiently proved by the fact that during the past ten years the value of shipments to Great Britain amounted to from 96.1 per cent. to 99.9 per cent. of the total exports from Ireland. Shipments from Great Britain to Ireland, on the other hand, represented, of course, but a small percentage of British exports. Nevertheless, it will probably surprise many people to learn that in 1921 Ireland was Great Britain's second largest customer, purchasing British goods to the value of £93,000,000. In the same year the United States of America, the largest purchaser among foreign countries, took goods to the value of £64,000,000 only.

As compared with other parts of the Empire, Ireland bought twice as much of British exports as Australia, four and a half times as much as Canada, five times as much as Egypt and six times as much as New Zealand. Only British India excelled her, taking goods to the value of £111,000,000.<sup>2</sup>

Turning now to a consideration of the public revenue and expenditure of Ireland, we may select as our starting-point the Treasury Return made to the order of the House of Commons for the year ended March 31, 1921. Something has already been said of the contentious nature of these returns; but for our immediate purpose their accuracy must be presumed. The aggregate revenue contributed by Ireland is stated at £48,843,000; expenditure in respect of Ireland at £32,976,000. Thus in the last year of fiscal union Ireland, over and above the cost of her own government, provided a sum of nearly £16,000,000 towards Imperial charges.

As between Great Britain and the six counties forming "Northern Ireland," the system of indiscriminate taxation still obtains. The final balance sheet of the Northern Government for 1922-3 shows receipts £13,484,000 and expenditure "on ordinary budget" £13,472,000. The expenditure includes £5,944,000 "Imperial Contribution," against which must be set Imperial grants-in-aid covering the cost of the Special

<sup>1</sup> The apparent discrepancy of the figures in respect of balance of trade is dealt with in the *Report on the Trade in Imports and Exports during the Year ended December 31, 1921*, issued by the Department of Agriculture (Eason & Co., Ltd., Dublin).

<sup>2</sup> See the *Manchester Guardian Commercial* (Irish Supplement) of March 15, 1923,



Constabulary and other services and amounting altogether to £3,497,000. Under the Act of 1920 Ireland was to have contributed towards Imperial services an annual sum to be fixed by a Joint Exchequer Board and provisionally assessed at £18,000,000. This provision is of course now obsolete, except so far as it affects North-east Ulster. In lieu of any stated contribution, the Free State, in the words of Article 5 of the Treaty, assumes "liability for the service of the Public Debt of the United Kingdom as existing at the date hereof (December 6, 1921), and towards the payment of war pensions existing at that date, in such proportions as may be fair and equitable, having regard to any just claims on the part of Ireland by way of set-off or counter-claim; the amount of such sums being determined in default of agreement by the arbitration of one or more independent persons being citizens of the British Empire."

So far as is generally known, no steps have as yet been taken to carry this article into effect; and till this has been successfully accomplished, it will be impossible even to guess the amount for which the Free State will ultimately be liable. Moreover, the amount cannot well be finally determined until the still more tangled question of the northern boundary has been dealt with; for it is impossible to assess the liability of an undefined area. With this exception, the Free State is in the happy position of having neither external nor internal debt apart from short-term borrowings from Irish Banks. But this immunity can hardly be long maintained. The Budget of 1923-4 contemplates a total revenue of £24,761,405 and a total expenditure of £43,293,814. It follows that the Government must within the next few months raise a loan of not less than £20,000,000.<sup>1</sup>

Given, however, the return of normal conditions, there is good reason to hope that little further indebtedness need be incurred, unless it be to provide for indirectly remunerative works, such as State-aided housing, afforestation, arterial drainage, water-power schemes or the like. Examining the Estimates a little more closely, we find that receipts include a sum of £3,000,000 non-recurrent revenue. On the other side of the account we have large items the greater part of which may fairly be regarded as capital expenditure. Thus £691,000 are provided on account of a total sum of £1,000,000 voted by the late Dáil by way of a housing subsidy, £11,000,000 compensation due to private persons for losses suffered during

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written, a National Loan of £10,000,000, bearing interest at 5 per cent., has been fully subscribed in Ireland.



the recent troubles, and about £10,000,000 for the maintenance of the army. We cannot, it is true, regard these charges in their entirety as non-recurrent. Many compensation claims have still to be settled; the army, even when reduced to proportions more in consonance with the normal requirements of the country, will still cost large sums of money; and the assistance of the State will in all probability continue to be required if the scandal of the slums is not to endure for ever. Nevertheless, having regard to the public expenditure of other European countries with similar populations and resources, it does not seem altogether unreasonable to expect that, given internal peace, the Free State Budget will in the near future be balanced somewhere in the neighbourhood of £20,000,000. In that case the expectation that under native rule taxes would be reduced—an expectation hitherto disappointed by an unnatural rebellion—may in the long run be justified. It is certain that the Government will do all it can to attain this end, not only in its own interests and in those of its present citizens, but also on account of the reactions of Free State finance upon North-east Ulster. Partition is abhorrent; yet, however friendly the relations between the severed portions of Ireland may become (and a kindlier feeling already exists on either side of the border), not the greatest optimist can expect Northern Ireland to consent to reunion as long as taxes are higher in the Free State than in the six counties.

Taxation apart, to forecast the economic future is more than ever hazardous. First among the disturbing factors is insurgent Labour, which in Ireland even more notably than elsewhere in Western Europe displays intransigence born of long-continued repression. Wages, urban and rural, have not yet been adjusted to post-war conditions; and the struggle between masters and men threatens to afflict Ireland with an interminable series of strikes and lock-outs.

Next we have to allow for possible changes in fiscal policy. In June of the present year the Government of the Free State appointed a Committee of Inquiry into the fiscal system. With a wisdom and a courage sufficiently rare to deserve mention, it has entrusted the conduct of the inquiry to independent experts, rightly maintaining that the proper place for interested parties is the witness's chair. Ireland has in the past had a certain bias towards Protectionism. On the other hand, she has not failed to note the example of Denmark—an agricultural country resembling her in many ways—which has steadily clung to the practice of Free Trade. All that can be said is that in this

great matter most Irishmen have not as yet made up their minds.

Hardly less important and even more obscure is the question whether any kind of cheap power can be made available for industry. Ireland produces each year an average of 100,000 tons of coal as against a consumption of 5,000,000 tons. Many hopes are based on the development of water-power and on the commercial exploitation of peat-bogs for fuel and other purposes. Should these hopes be realised, the industrial and social life of Ireland is sure to undergo a revolutionary change. Failing this, it seems probable that Ireland will continue to occupy as an economic unit that middle station—neither so great as to excite envy nor so lowly as to call for pity—which wise men have considered the happiest for nations as for individuals.

In our own days as in the past she has shown amazing powers of resistance and recovery. The fertility of her soil and her geographical position on the trade routes of the Atlantic are assets of actual and potential wealth not assessable in terms of money. As well economically as politically, she is now mistress in her own house. The products of her soil find a ready market close at hand. Her people, careless as they have hitherto been of material progress, are neither unintelligent nor fundamentally indolent. If she has enjoyed small share in the profits of modern industrialism, she has escaped its perplexities and may yet lead the way towards a nobler social order. Some such hope as this has always inspired the better sort of Irishmen.

“In Ireland our history begins with the most ancient of any in a mythical era when earth mingled with heaven. The gods departed, the half-gods also, hero and saint after that, and we have dwindled down to a petty peasant nationality, rural and urban life alike mean in their externals. Yet the cavalcade, for all its tattered habiliments, has not lost spiritual dignity. There is still some incorruptible spiritual atom in our people. We are still in some relation to the divine order; and while that incorrupted spiritual atom still remains, all things are possible if by some inspiration there could be revealed to us a way back or forward to greatness, an Irish polity in accord with national character.”<sup>1</sup>

With these words of that living Irishman who most happily combines in himself the diverse qualities of poet, politician and economist, this book may fittingly be brought to a close.

<sup>1</sup> *The National Being : Some Thoughts on an Irish Polity*, by “Æ.”

## C—MISCELLANEOUS





## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

After 300 B.C. Coming of the Celt to Ireland.

A.D.

- 432. St. Patrick lands on the shores of Strangford Lough.
- 615. Death of Columbanus.
- 998 *circa*. Brian Boru's Usurpation.
- 1014. Battle of Clontarf.
- 1169. Coming of the Anglo-Normans.
- 1172. The Synod of Cashel.
- 1297. First meeting of the Irish Parliament.
- 1318. Battle of Faughart.
- 1366. Statute of Kilkenny.
- 1494. Poynings's Law.
- 1536. Meeting of the Reformation Parliament.
- 1541. Henry VIII King of Ireland.
- 1599. Essex in Ireland.
- 1608. Plantation of Ulster.
- 1641. Irish Rebellion.
- 1649. Cromwell in Ireland.
- 1661. Act of Settlement.
- 1690. Battle of the Boyne (July 1, O.S.).
- 1692. Beginning of the Penal Laws.
- 1780. The Irish Volunteers.
- 1782. Grattan's Parliament.
- 1785. Pitt proposes a generous measure of commercial freedom.
- 1789. The Irish Parliament ask the Prince of Wales to assume the Regency.
- 1791. Formation of the United Irishmen.
- 1795. Formation of Orange Lodges.
- 1798. The Irish Rebellion.
- 1800. The Act of Union.
- 1829. Roman Catholic Emancipation.
- 1838. The Irish Poor Law.
- 1844. Trial of O'Connell.
- 1846. Potato Famine.
- 1869. Church Disestablishment Act.
- 1870. Land Act (partial compensation for disturbance and for tenant's improvements).
- 1875. Beginning of organised Parliamentary obstruction.
- 1879. Death of Isaac Butt; Foundation of Land League.

A.D.

- 1881. Land Act (The "Three F.'s": Fixity of Tenure, Fair Rents, Free Sale).
- 1882. Phoenix Park murders (May).
- 1885. Land Purchase (Ashbourne) Act.
- 1886. First Home Rule Bill.
- 1887. *Times* articles on "Parnellism and Crime."
- 1888-89. Parnell Commission.
- 1890. Beginnings of Parnell split.
- 1891. Second Land Purchase Act and establishment of the Congested Districts Board.
- 1893. Second Home Rule Bill; Retirement of Mr. Gladstone.
- 1894. Foundation of Gaelic League and of Irish Agricultural Organisation Society.
- 1896. Report of Recess Committee.
- 1897. Report of Financial Relations Commission.
- 1898. Local Government Act.
- 1899. Creation of Department of Agriculture.
- 1900. Parliamentary party re-united under John Redmond; United Irish League founded.
- 1903. Land Purchase (Wyndham) Act.
- 1907. Council Bill introduced, but dropped; First Sinn Féin Club formed.
- 1908. Creation of National University (Dublin) and Queen's University (Belfast).
- 1911. Parliament Act.
- 1912. Irish Home Rule Bill introduced; Ulster Covenant and beginnings of Ulster Volunteer Movement.
- 1913. Counter-movement of Nationalist Volunteers; Home Rule Bill twice rejected by the House of Lords.
- 1914. Home Rule Bill again passed by House of Commons; County option rejected by N.E. Ulster; Landing of arms at Larne; Buckingham Palace Conference; Landing of arms near Dublin, and firing on mob; Outbreak of European War; Three new Irish Divisions formed; John Redmond declares that Ireland will support Great Britain and her Allies; Secessions from National Volunteer Organisation; Home Rule Bill receives the Royal Assent, but its operation is suspended for period of the War.
- 1915. Coalition Ministry formed (Sir E. Carson joins the Cabinet).
- 1916. Easter Rebellion in Dublin; Irish Republic proclaimed; Trial of rebels.
- 1917. Meetings of Irish Convention.
- 1918. Death of John Redmond; Irish Convention reports; An Act is passed (but not enforced) extending compulsory military service to Ireland; European War terminated by an Armistice; General Election results in victory of Sinn Féin Party.

A.D.

1919. Majority of Irish representatives meet in Dublin and form the first "Dáil"; Many members and others are arrested and interned.
1920. Beginning of guerrilla warfare, directed especially against the Royal Irish Constabulary; Recruiting of "Auxiliaries" and "Black-and-Tans"; Government of Ireland Act, repealing the Home Rule Act (1914) and providing for the establishment of Parliaments of Northern and Southern Ireland.
1921. Northern Parliament opened by H.M. the King (June 7); Four members only attend opening of Southern Parliament; Truce declared (July); Conference between representatives of Sinn Féin and of the Southern Unionists; Meeting between Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. de Valera; Offers of British Government rejected by the Dáil; Further Conferences in London, following an invitation to representatives of Sinn Féin "to discuss terms of peace, to ascertain how the association of Ireland with the Community of nations known as the British Empire may be reconciled with Irish national aspirations" (October—December); Treaty signed in London (December 6).
1922. Treaty accepted by the Dáil (January 7), and Provisional Government installed; Revolt of the "Irregulars"; General Election (June) returns a new Dáil favourable to the Treaty: Republicans refuse to attend; Death of Arthur Griffith and of Michael Collins; Constitution of Irish Free State framed by the Dáil and accepted (without change) by the Imperial Parliament; Revolt gradually suppressed during autumn and winter months; Irish Free State formally inaugurated.
1923. Pro-Treaty party again returned to power at General Election (August); Free State enters the League of Nations (September); Irish representatives attend Dominion Conference (October).





## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- R. Bagwell, *Ireland under the Tudors*, London, 1885-90.  
 R. Bagwell, *Ireland under the Stuarts*, London, 1912 ff.  
 H. F. Berry, *History of the Royal Dublin Society*, London, 1915.  
 Sophie Bryant, Litt.D., *Liberty, Order and Law under Native Irish Rule*, Harding & More. (An excellent summary of the ancient customary Brehon laws of Ireland.)  
 J. B. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, London, 1905.  
 D. A. Chart, *Ireland, 1800-29*, London, 1910.  
 D. A. Chart, *Economic History of Ireland*, London, 1920.  
 G. A. J. Cole, *Ireland the Outpost*, Oxford, 1919.  
 R. Dunlop, his chapters in the *Cambridge Modern History*, Cambridge, 1902 ff.  
 C. L. Falkiner, *Studies in Irish History*, London, 1902.  
 C. L. Falkiner, *Illustrations of Irish History and Topography*, London, 1904.  
 C. L. Falkiner, *Essays Relating to Ireland*, London, 1909.  
 J. A. Froude, *The English in Ireland*, London, 1906.  
 J. P. Gannon, *A Review of Irish History*, London, 1900.  
 S. R. Gardiner, *History of England (and Ireland), 1603-56*, London, 1895-1903.  
 H. Gwynn, *Liber Ardmachanus*, Dublin, 1913.  
 O. J. R. Howarth, *The Geography of Ireland*, Oxford, 1911.  
 E. Hull, *Pagan Ireland*, London, 1904.  
 E. Hull, *The Poem-Book of the Gael*, London, 1912.  
 D. Hyde, *Literary History of Ireland*, London, 1899.  
 P. W. Joyce, *A Social History of Ireland*, London, 1903.  
 W. E. H. Lecky, *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1896.  
 W. E. H. Lecky, *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland*, London, 1903.  
 J. MacNeill, *Phases of Irish History*, Dublin, 1919.  
 R. A. S. Macalister, *Ireland in Pre-Celtic Times*, London, 1921.  
 Sir H. Maine, *The Early History of Institutions*, London, 1890.  
 W. F. Monypenny, *The Two Irish Nations*, London, 1913.  
 W. O'C. Morris, *Ireland, 1798-1898*, London, 1898.  
 A. E. Murray, *Commercial Relations between England and Ireland*, London, 1903.  
 R. H. Murray, *Revolutionary Ireland and its Settlement (1688-1714)*, London, 1911.  
 R. H. Murray, *Dublin University and the New World*, London, 1921.

- B. Ed. O'Brien, *Two Centuries of Irish History*, 1691–1870, London, 1888.  
 G. O'Brien, *Economic History of Ireland* (1800–47), London, 1921.  
 E. A. Porritt and A. G. Porritt, *The Unreformed House of Commons*, Cambridge, 1903.  
 J. P. Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement*, London, 1870.  
 A. G. Richey, *Short History of the Irish People*, Dublin, 1887.  
 G. T. Stokes, *Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church*, London, 1889.  
 G. T. Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, London, 1892.  
 O. Walpole, *The Kingdom of Ireland*, Dublin, 1908.

[For bibliographies with comments on the value of the books the Rev. R. H. Murray, Broughton Rectory, Huntingdon, refers readers to three of his booklets, entitled, *Ireland*, 1494–1829, *Ireland*, 1603–1714, and *Ireland*, 1714–1829. He also desires to say that he is most anxious to help anyone working at Irish history.]

Some useful books relating to Irish History, 1869–1923 :—

(But for recent events there is no single authoritative book; recourse must be had to official reports and a large number of books of unequal merit, representative of various shades of opinion.)

- G. Locker-Lampson, M.P., *A Consideration of the State of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century* (Constable).  
 L. Paul-Dubois, *Contemporary Ireland* (c. 1900), translated by T. M. Kettle (Longmans).  
 R. Barry O'Brien, *A Hundred Years of Irish History* (1800–1900) (Isbister).  
 R. Barry O'Brien, *Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland* (Sampson Low).  
 R. Barry O'Brien, *Life of Charles Stewart Parnell* (Smith, Elder).  
 T. P. O'Connor, M.P., *The Parnell Movement* (Kegan Paul).  
 Earl of Dunraven, *Ireland and Scotland under the Union* (Chapman & Hall).  
 Earl of Dunraven, *The Outlook in Ireland* (1907) (Murray).  
 Sir Horace Plunkett, *Ireland in the New Century* (Murray).  
 George W. Russell ("Æ."), *The National Being: Thoughts on an Irish Polity* (Maunsell).  
 George W. Russell ("Æ."), *Co-operation and Nationality* (Maunsell).  
 Stephen Gwynn, *John Redmond's Last Years* (Arnold).  
 Stephen Gwynn, *The Irish Situation*, 1921 (Cape).  
 J. W. Good, *Ulster and Ireland* (Maunsell).  
 Robert Mitchell Henry, *Evolution of Sinn Féin*.  
 Erskine Childers, *Framework of Home Rule* (Arnold).  
 James Connolly, *Labour in Irish History*.  
 P. S. O'Hegarty, *The Indestructible Nation* (Maunsell).

- Michael Davitt, *The Fall of Feudalism in Ireland*.  
William O'Brien, *Evening Memories*.  
A. de Blacam, *What Sinn Féin Stands For*.  
Etienne Béchaux, *La Question Agraire en Irlande au commencement du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Rousseau).  
Alice E. Murray (Dr.), *A History of the Commercial and Financial Relations between England and Ireland* (King).  
George O'Brien (Dr.), *Economic History of Ireland* (3 vols.).  
Report of the Recess Committee on the Establishment of a Department of Agriculture and Industries for Ireland (Browne & Nolan, Dublin).  
Report of the Proceedings of the Irish Convention, 1918 (H.M. Stationery Office).





# IRELAND

(SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF  
CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS)

Catholics      Protestants

Over 80%      70-80%      50-60%

60-80%      60-70%      50-60%

50-60%      50-60%

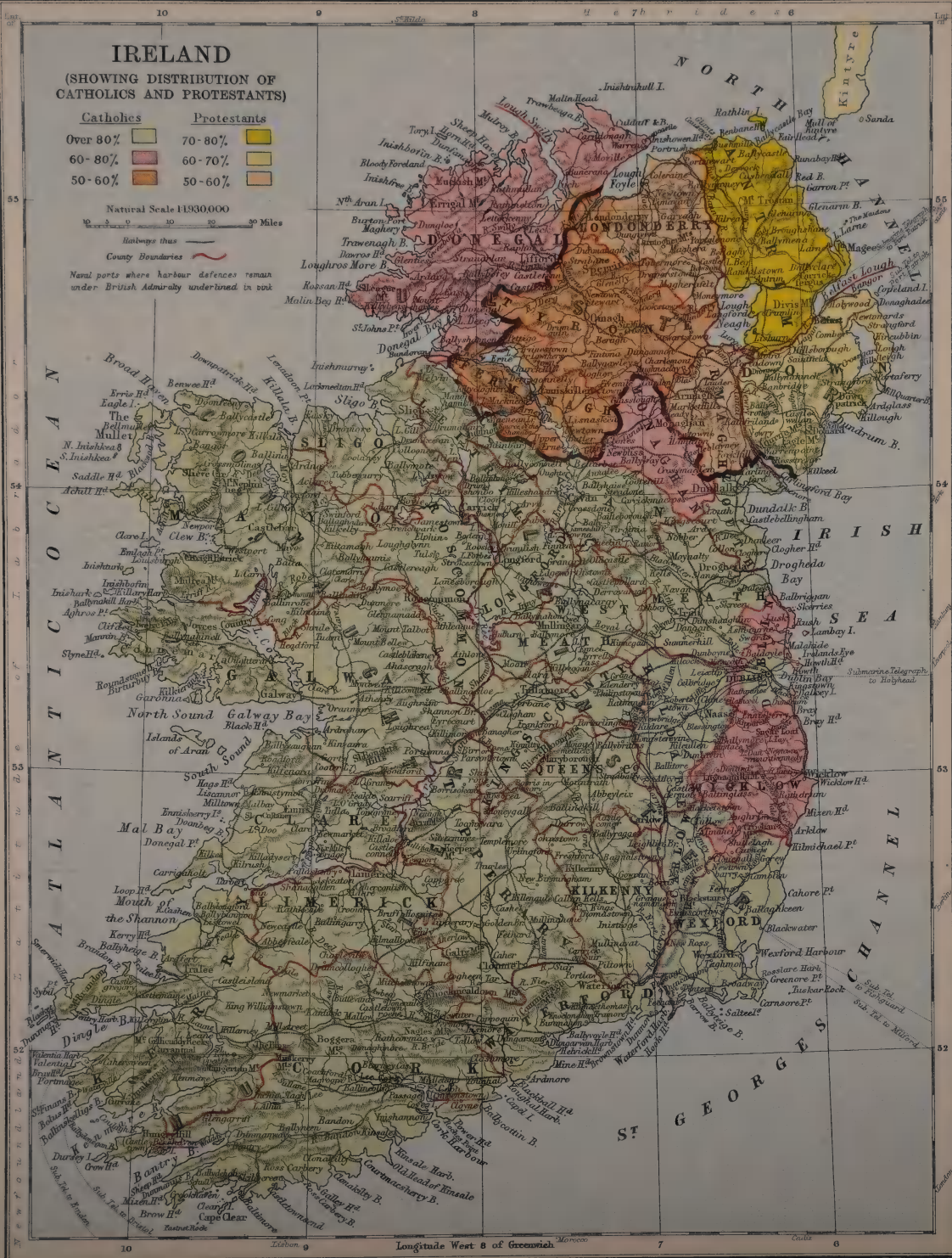
Natural Scale 1:1930000

10 5 0 5 10 Miles

Railways thus —

County Boundaries —

Naval ports where harbour defences remain  
under British Admiralty underlined in book



Longitude West of Greenwich



# INDEX

- Agriculture, 113, 123, 124; Department of, 199, 200; 263-266  
 Alexandra, Queen, 206  
 American War of Independence, 115-118, 126  
 Anglo-Norman conquest, 10, 14, 15  
 Annesley case, 108  
 Ard-Rí, 5, 8, 11, 15, 16  
 Armagh, 7  
 Army, under Strafford, 65; 119; of Free State, 252  
 Art, early Irish, 28; present, 203, 204  
 Ashbourne, Lord, 176  
 Asquith, Mr., 210, 214  
 Athlone, 93, 94  
 Aughrim, battle of, 94  
  
 Balfour, Mr. A. (Earl), 198, 210  
 Balfour, Mr. G., 199  
 Beaconsfield, Earl of, 211  
 Belfast, 91, 92, 102, 112, 117, 217, 238, 268  
 Benburb, battle of, 71, 123  
 Berwick, battle of, 93  
 Bessborough Commission, 173, 174  
 Bibliography, 279-281  
 Birrell, Mr. A., 209  
 "Black and Tans," 236, 237  
 "Black-rent," 28, 30, 32, 34  
 Boycott, 173  
 Boyne, battle of the, 92, 123  
*Brehon* Code, etc., 10, 14, 17, 19, 26, 28, 29, 53, 97, 261, 262, 279  
 Brian Boru, 11, 12  
 Bruce, Edward, 22-26  
 Bruce, Robert, 22, 24  
 Burgo, de, 16, 22, 23, 26, 29, 38  
 Burke, Edmund, 106, 108, 122, 208  
 Burke, Mr. T., murder of, 175  
 Butt, Isaac, 169, 170, 179, 180, 182-184  
  
 Cairns, Earl, 62, 165  
 Carson, Sir E., 218, 227  
 Castlereagh, Viscount, 133, 146  
 Catholic Association, 140, 142  
 Catholic emancipation and disabilities, 96-98, 100, 116, 120, 121, 133, 178, 180  
 Catholic Emancipation Act, 142  
  
 Cattle, 265  
 Cavendish, Lord F., murder of, 175  
 Celts, 3, 5, 12, 14, 26, 27, 61, 101, 158, 164  
 Charlemont, Lord, 116, 117, 125  
 Charles I, 63, 67, 70, 71  
 Charles II, 71, 72, 83; restoration of lands, 83, 84; 86  
 Chatham, Earl of, 109, 115  
 Chronological table, 275-277  
 Church, early, 7, 9-11, 42-45, 47, 48; 75, 76, 96, 133; disestablishment, 164-166  
 Clare, Lord, 129, 131, 132  
 Clarence, Duke of, 29  
 Clontarf, battle of, 11, 12  
 Coal, 272  
 Coercion, Act of, 1887, 195  
 Coke, Sir Edward, 18  
 Collins, M., 244-246  
 Columba, St., 8  
 Columbanus, St., 9  
 Columbus, effect of his discovery, 34-36, 47  
 Conference of 1921, 240  
 Congested Districts Board, 196-198  
 Co-operative Societies, 202, 203  
 Constitution of Free State, 248-251  
 Corn Law, Foster's, 123, 124, 128, 138, 140, 144  
 Cosgrave, Mr., 246  
 "Coyne and Livery," 32, 39, 52  
 Crimes, agrarian, 175  
 Cromwell, Oliver, 73-77; Irish campaign, 78-82; 165  
 Culture, early, 9, 10, 28  
  
 Dáil Eireann, 234, 235, 240, 251  
 Danes, the, 11, 13, 16  
 Davitt, Michael, 172  
 Defenders, the, 129  
 Dermot, King, 8  
 Derry, siege of, 1688, 90  
 Desmond, Earls of, 32, 38  
 De Valera, 240  
 Devolution, 208  
 Devon Commission, 153-156  
 Drogheda, capture by Cromwell, 79, 80  
 Druids, 3, 4, 7

- Drummond, Thomas, 143, 178  
 Dublin, early, 11, 17, 19; University of, 56; 111, 112, 229  
 Dublin Castle, 244  
 Dublin rising, 1916, 232-234  
 Dunraven, Earl of, 208
- Economics, 261-272  
 Education, 143, 144, 180, 209  
 Edward I, 18, 20  
 Edward III, 29  
 Edward VII, 206  
 Elizabeth, 44-48, 50-53  
 Emigration: after Cromwell's campaign, 83; after William III's campaign, 94, 95; Presbyterian, 98; 100, 113, 145, 151-153; table, 264  
 Emmet, Robert, 134  
 Eric, 10, 14, 19  
 Expenditure, 269, 270  
 Exports, 269
- Famines, 112; of 1846-48, 150, 151  
 Faughart, battle of, 24, 25  
 Fenians, 160-163, 185  
 Finance, 269-271  
 FitzGerald, Lord E., 125, 129, 130  
 Flood, Henry, 116, 118-120  
 Forster, Mr., 175  
 Forty-shilling tenancy, 141, 142  
 Foster's Corn Law, 123, 124, 128, 138, 140, 144  
 Four Courts, 245  
 Franklin, Benjamin, 115  
 Free State, *vide* Irish Free State  
 Free Trade, ruinous effect on Ireland, 150, 153  
 French Revolution, 125-127, 135  
 "F's, the three," 60, 159, 169, 173
- Gaelic League, 204, 224  
 Gallowglasses, 40, 51  
 Gavelkind, 14, 57, 96, 141  
 George III, 126, 133  
 George V, 239  
 Gerald Oge, 38, 40, 41  
 Geraldines, 14, 16, 26, 32, 39, 41  
 German immigration, 102-104  
 Ginkell, General, 93, 94  
 Gladstone, W. E., 137, 164-174, 187-190  
 Gossypred, 11  
 Grattan, Henry, 116-119; his parliament, 1792, 119; 120, 122, 133, 179  
 Grey, Lord Leonard, 43, 45  
 Griffith, Mr. A., 225, 244, 246
- Healy, Mr. T. M., 251  
 Henry II, 12, 14-18, 20  
 Henry V, 31  
 Henry VII, 34-38
- Henry VIII, 39, 40, 43, 44; King of Ireland, 46; 47  
 Hoche, Irish expedition, 1796, 127-129; 131  
 Home Government Association, 181  
 Home Rule: League, 169; 178-192, 208-223; first Bill, 189; second, 191; Bill of 1912, 212; of 1920, 238; Conference and Treaty of 1921, 240  
 Horses, 266, 267  
 Huguenots in Ulster, 100, 101  
 Humbert, Irish expedition, 1798, 132
- Imports, 269  
 Industries, 102, 267-269  
 Industrial Development Associations, 203  
 Inhabitants, early, 3-5  
 Invincibles, the, 176  
 Ireland: early history, 3-12; Anglo-Norman conquest and settlement, 13-31; "Silken Thomas's" rebellion, 40; O'Neills and Elizabeth, 50-55; plantations, 53-83; rebellion of 1641, 66-72; Cromwell's campaign, 78-82; restoration and settlement, 83, 84; revolution of 1688-89, 90-95; re-settlement, 94-100; Penal laws, 96; Grattan's Parliament 1782, 119; repeal of Penal Laws, 121; famous Irishmen, 122; rebellion of 1798, 129-132; the Union, 133, 144; Dan O'Connell, 135-150; 1848, 147; the great Famine, 150-151; Fenianism, 160-163; Disestablishment, 163-166; Land Act, 1870, 168; Land League, 172; Parnell, 170-175, 184-191; Home Rule Bills, 189, 191, 218; agreement of 1916, 218; Convention of 1917, 220-222; conscription, 222; Dublin rising, 230-233; the "Terror," 236-238; Government of Ireland Bill, 1920, 238; Ulster Parliament, 239; Treaty, 240-244; insurrection 1922, 245-247  
 Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, 202, 203  
 Irish Free State born, 241  
 Irish Republican Brotherhood, 183, 185, 206, 225
- James I, 57  
 James II, 85-87; invades Ireland, 88-92  
 Justiciary, Norman, 17, 18
- Kildare, Earls of, 37-41  
 Kilkenny, Confederation of, 69-71, 84



Kilkenny, Statute of, 29, 30, 32, 57  
Kilwarden, Lord, 132  
King's County, 47

"Lady Mora," 54, 55

Lalor, J. F., 147, 172, 230

Land League, 172, 179

Land question: under James I and Charles I, 64; 102; after the Famine, 153-158; 166-170; Land Act of 1870, 168, 169, 174, 195; Land League, 172; Land Act of 1881, 173, 174, 179, 194, 195; Land Purchase Act of 1885, 176, 177, 179, 194, 195; Land Commission, 195, 196; Conference of 1902, 196, 210; Land Purchase Act of 1903, 196; Bill of 1920, 197

Larne, 212, 213, 227

Lauzun, Duke of, 91, 93

Leinster, Book of, 13

Light railways, 197

Limerick, sieges of, 93, 94; Treaty of, 94

Linen trade, 64, 100-102, 114, 124, 268

Lloyd George, Mr., 211, 218, 240

Louis XIV, 85-88, 90-99, 101

MacDonnell, Sir A., 208, 209

MacMurrough (Art), 30-32; 45

MacMurrough (Dermot), 12-15

Malone, 110, 111

Maynooth College, 144

McCracken, H. J., 125

Mitchel, John, 147, 161

Molyneux's book, 1698, 105, 106, 118

Monasteries, suppression of, 43

Morley, Lord, 199

Nantes, Revocation of Edict of, 87, 100, 101

Napoleonic Wars, 123, 131, 139

Nationalists, 183; party, 186, 191, 219; disappearance of ditto, 220

National University, 210

Normans, 15-21, 26

Norsemen, 11, 19

O'Connell, Daniel, 135; character, 136, 137; 138-148; trial, 149; 150

O'Mahoney, 161

O'Neills: Shane, 50-52; Hugh, rebellion, 53-55; Matthew, 50, 53; Conn, 59; Owen Roe, 68, 70, 71, 72; 111

Orangemen, 126, 129, 199

Ormonde, Earls, etc. of, 32, 38; 68-73, 78

O'Rourke, 13

Pale, the, 25, 26, 28, 29, 32, 36, 39

Parliament, Irish, 36, 57, 64, 65, 95; Roman Catholics in, 95; 109, 110, 119, 120; abolition, 133; (*vide* Dáil)

Parnell, C. S., 137, 170; character, 171; arrest, 175; 184-191; divorce proceedings, 190

Parnell Commission, 175, 189, 190

Pasturage, 113, 124, 158

Patrick, St., 4-7, 11, 14

Pearse, Patrick, 225, 230, 233

Penal Laws, 94-98, 108, 110, 116, 119; repeal, 121-125; 178, 209

Philip II, 49-52, 54, 99

Phoenix Park murders, 175

Pitt, 126, 132, 133

Plan of Campaign, 195

Plantations, the, 31, 47, 52, 53; in Ulster, 57-65; Cromwellian, 82, 83

Plunkett, Sir Horace, 199, 202, 222, 224

Population, 98, 124, 138, 140; tables, 152; 263

Poyning's Law, 36, 37, 43, 91, 109, 111, 114, 118; repealed, 119; 120

Presbyterian disabilities, 98

Queen's County, 47

Queen's University, 144, 209

Rebellions: "Silken Thomas's," 40, 41; Hugh O'Neill's, 53-55; of 1641, 66-72; of 1798, 129-132; Emmet's, 134; of 1848, 147; Fenian, 160; of 1916, 230-233; of 1922, 245-247

Redmond, John, 213-215, 218, 222, 228

Redmond, Willie, 219

Regent, Prince, 126

Repeal Association, 145

Republicans, 229, 234, 235, 245-247

Restoration Settlement, 84, 90

Revolution of 1688, 89, 90-95

Ribbonmen, 143, 160

Richard II, invades Ireland, 30, 31

Richard, Duke of York, 32

Richelieu, Cardinal, 68, 75, 86

Rinuccini, 70, 71, 75

Roman influence, 7, 8, 9, 15

Royal Dublin Society, 112

Royal Irish Constabulary, 143, 176, 236

*Rundale*, 198

St. Leger, 45, 47

St. Ruth, 93, 94

Sarsfield, Patrick, 93, 94

Schomberg, Marshal, 91

Scotland, name of, 60, 61

Seullabogue, 131

Settlement, Act of, 1662, 84, 89

Shawe Taylor, Capt., 196

- "Silken Thomas," 39; his rebellion, 40, 41  
 Sinn Féin, 205, 219-231; origin, 225; 234  
 Spanish invasion, 55  
 Spencer, Earl, 175, 176  
 Steel Boys, 113  
 Stephens, James, 161, 162  
 Strafford, Earl of, 63-66  
 Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, 14-16  
 Swift, Jonathan, 106-110, 114, 118, 120  
  
*Tanist*, 46, 57  
 Tara, 6-8  
 Taxation, 200-202  
 "Terror, the," 236-238  
 Thurot, 117  
 Tithe, 140, 143  
 Tone, Wolfe, 125-128, 132, 147, 230, 231  
 Treaty of 1921-22, 240  
 Trinity College, 209, 210  
 Troops, Irish, in Great War, 214-216  
 Tudors, their work in Ireland, 34-55  
 Tyrconnel, Earls of, 58, 86, 88-90, 93  
 Tyrone, Earls of, 50-58  
  
 Ulster, taken in hand by James I, 57-58; history, 58-59; plantations, 59-63; celebrities of, 62, 99; Presbyterians, 98; against Repeal, 146; tenancy, 167, 168; 211, 212; Covenant, 212; Volunteers, 212, 214; in Great War, 216; question of, 216-218; Division, 219; 227; riots, 238; Parliament, 239; 242; present situation, 253, 254  
 Union with England, 133, 134  
 United Irishmen, 129, 130, 225  
 Universities, 144, 209, 210  
  
 Viceroy, first mentioned, 32, 36, 37  
 Victoria, Queen, visits, 158, 206  
 Vinegar Hill, 130, 131  
 Voltaire, on Ireland, 114  
 Volunteers, 117, 118, 125; Nationalist, 213, 214, 228; Ulster, 212, 214; National Irish, 229  
  
 War, the Great, 212, 234.  
 Waterford, battle of, 15  
 Wexford, taken by Cromwell, 81  
 White Boys, 113, 140  
 William III, 85-99  
 Wood's halfpence, 107  
 Woollen trade, 64, 100, 105, 114, 118, 267  
 Wyndham, Mr. George, 196, 208, 210  
  
 Yeomanry, 130  
 Young, Arthur, 114, 169  
 Young Ireland Party, 147-149











BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 9999 08816 266 2



